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IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY

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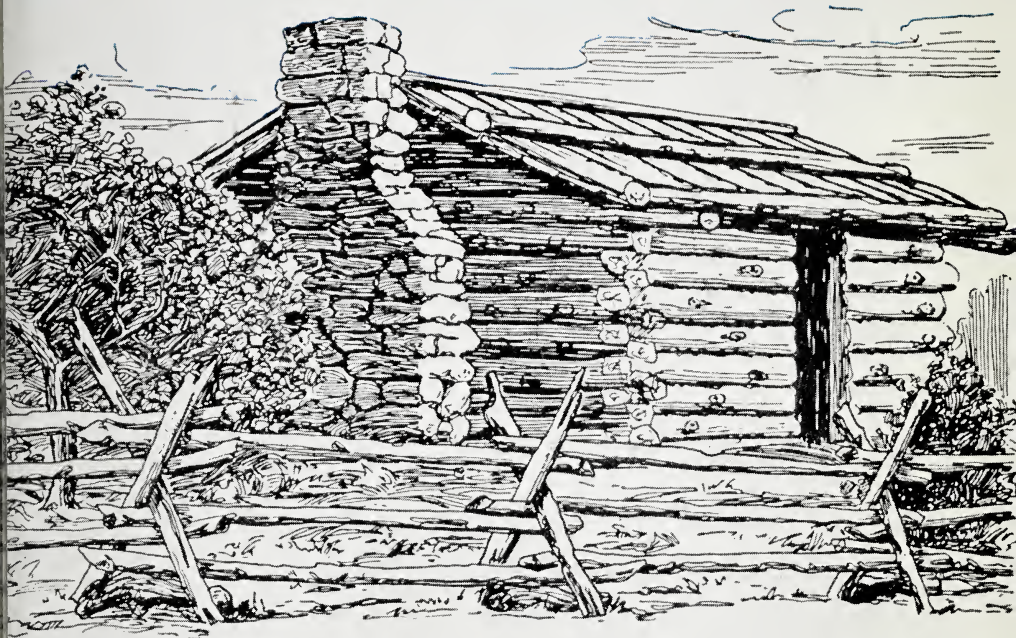
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COVER

A pioneer log cabin, typical of those built on the Iowa frontier.

CRAWFORD TOWNSHIP, 1850-1870:

A POPULATION STUDY OF A PIONEER COMMUNITY

*By William L. Bowers**

In the past, historians have made numerous and varied assumptions about the American frontier. Recently, some have examined these suppositions in the light of information gathered about limited areas of that frontier. Obviously, the findings of these individual studies cannot be applied to the entire frontier situation, but when enough of them have been undertaken it should be possible to make a composite picture of the frontier from which reasonably correct generalizations can be drawn. In fact, the justification for these studies is the need for a more accurate picture of the frontier based on objective evidence.

This study is an attempt to describe in an objective manner what the Crawford Township frontier in Washington County, Iowa, was like and what happened to it between 1850 and 1870. It deals with the whole population of the township and seeks to answer such questions as: Where did the people come from? What did they do for a living? Did they tend to be predominantly young or old? How equally was wealth distributed? What size farms did they operate? What kinds of crops and livestock did they raise? And why did some of them leave, while others stayed? In addition, conclusions are drawn as to the correctness of earlier frontier assumptions, and comparison is made of the findings of this study with those of other studies made of other parts of the frontier. Most of the information was obtained from the federal population and agricultural censuses and put into tabular form.

Crawford Township is an area of gently rolling prairie and good farm land located in the southeastern corner of Washington County, which lies in the second tier of counties west of the Mississippi in southeastern Iowa. The township was the first part of the county to be settled, being opened to settlers in 1833, after the conclusion of the Black Hawk Pur-

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chase.¹ However, people did not start coming as far west as the area of Crawford Township until after 1835. Still, by 1839, when Washington County was organized, Crawford Township had the largest population of any settled region in the county.²

Adam Ritchey was the first white settler of Crawford Township, having come there from Illinois in the winter of 1835-1836. Ritchey was originally from Pennsylvania, where he had been a successful and prosperous farmer. He had moved to Illinois because he had heard of an impending new land cession in Iowa, which would be opened to settlement when the treaty was concluded.³ In the fall of 1835 he and a James Black went to Iowa to explore the area in anticipation of making their claims. They actually did not enter the region to be ceded by the Indians in 1837, but were attracted to the area around Crooked Creek in what is now Crawford Township. Upon returning to Illinois they praised the area to their friends, and in February, 1836, Ritchey, Black, and several others crossed the frozen Mississippi into Iowa and staked out claims in the vicinity of Crooked Creek. The others then returned to Illinois, but Ritchey remained, living in a rude cabin which he had erected near the present site of the town of Crawfordsville. However, he had contracted malaria and lay wracked with fever during most of the winter. The aid of friendly Indians and his strong constitution enabled him to recover, and in the spring he returned to Illinois to get his son and daughter to help him work his claim before bringing the rest of his family there. Then, in 1837, hardly a year later, he sold his claim to Matthew Moorhead and left the township.⁴ The county histories offer no explanation as to why he left so soon, and the only brief reference to him after this time states that he built a mill just across the county line and that he died there in 1848.⁵

¹ *The History of Washington County, Iowa* (Des Moines, 1880), 280. Hereafter cited as *History of Washington County, 1880*.

² *Portrait and Biographical Album of Washington County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1887), 675. Hereafter cited as *Portrait and Biographical Album*.

³ This was the area known in Iowa history as the Second Cession of 1837. It included the remainder of what became Washington County. The Black Hawk Purchase bisected the present county diagonally from northeast to southwest.

⁴ *History of Washington County, 1880*, 280-82.

⁵ Howard A. Burrell, *History of Washington County, Iowa, From the First White Settlements to 1908* (2 vols., Chicago, 1909), 1:72; *Portrait and Biographical Album*, 282.

Other early settlers included the Neal brothers — J. W., Joseph, Robert, and Walker — for whom Crawfordsville was originally called “Neal-town.”⁶ One account states that the Neals changed the name to Crawfordsville in order to get their brother-in-law, Dr. Isaac Crawford, to come there from Ohio. Dr. Crawford finally arrived in 1841, and his family became prominent in both the township and the county in the succeeding years.⁷

Crawfordsville, the only town in the township, traces its beginnings back to the earliest period of settlement, for county histories refer to Adam Ritchey’s officiating as Justice of the Peace at a wedding held in Crawfordsville as early as 1837.⁸ The town was located on one of the main territorial roads and for a time enjoyed a high degree of prosperity. However, with the building of railroads through rival towns, much of its trade was drawn away and it declined. The story of the township’s struggle for a railroad is an unhappy one characterized by failure after failure. A narrow-gauge line of the Burlington & Northwestern Railroad was finally obtained in 1879-1880, but at a high cost to the people of the township and too late for Crawfordsville to regain its former advantages.⁹

Church and school were brought to Crawford Township at an early date. There were four denominations represented in the township — Methodist Episcopalian, Congregationalist, United Presbyterian, and Presbyterian. The Methodist Episcopalians held their first meeting in Matthew Moor-

⁶ Burrell, *History of Washington County*, 1:144.

⁷ *Idem*. Ironically, neither the village near which he settled, the township, the county, nor any of the other townships in the county were named for Adam Ritchey, first white settler of Washington County.

⁸ *History of Washington County*, 1880, 576.

⁹ *Portrait and Biographical Album*, 675; Burrell, *History of Washington County*, 1:218. Crawfordsville’s chief rival for trade during this period was Ainsworth, which is five miles to the north in Oregon Township. It was established in 1858 when the first railroad line, the south branch of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific RR, was built to the county seat. Ainsworth and Oregon Township prospered and increased in population because of the railroad. During the 1860’s Oregon Township’s population nearly doubled, rising from 673 in 1859 to 1,318 in 1870. During the same period, the population of Crawford Township increased by 205 only, going from 1,112 to 1,317. Just over two decades after its founding, Ainsworth had a population of 318; Crawfordsville’s population in 1880 was 265. Near the turn of the century Ainsworth’s population rose to 500 and Crawfordsville’s to about 300, and there they have stabilized to this day. *History of Washington County*, 1880, 573; *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census, 1836-1880* (Des Moines, 1883), 596.

head's house as early as the winter of 1837-1838.¹⁰ The Congregationalists organized in 1842, the United Presbyterians in 1846, and the Presbyterians in 1850.¹¹ These last two churches attracted the largest congregations, reflecting the Scotch-Irish ethnic background of many of the township's settlers. The Presbyterians were particularly active, and by 1854 had built a church valued at \$1,800, a considerable accomplishment in view of the times and frontier conditions.¹² The claim that the first school in the township was started as late as 1848 has been discounted,¹³ and in view of the beginnings of education in other townships it seems reasonable to believe that the date was earlier than that in Crawford Township.

Politically, Crawford Township was a strongly Republican area almost from the beginning of that party's existence. Crawfordsville even claimed to be the place where the State Republican party was formed. Although not necessarily related to its Republican make-up, the township became a center of abolitionist activity prior to the Civil War. Several homes in Crawfordsville actually served as stations on the Underground Railroad, and the township was visited more than once by slaveowners in search of runaway slaves. Five Crawford Township abolitionists also served with John Brown in his warfare in Kansas.¹⁴

ORIGINS

Where did the people who settled in Crawford Township come from? Some historians have supposed that those who settled on the Iowa and Midwestern frontier came from the Middle Atlantic states, and from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Table I gives the birthplace for all new householders in Crawford Township as reported by the census takers in 1850, 1860, and 1870. From this table it can be seen that Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Tennessee, and Ireland were the birthplaces of about three-fourths of the new householders in 1850 and 1860, and of slightly more than two-thirds of those listed in 1870. The figures show also that from one-fifth to one-third of the settlers during this period were born in the South and in foreign countries.

¹⁰ *History of Washington County, 1880*, 576.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 577-8.

¹² Burrell, *History of Washington County*, 1:232.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 272.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 144, 272.

TABLE I

STATE OF BIRTH, ALL HOUSEHOLDERS, 1850, 1860, 1870

<i>Birthplace</i>	1850	1860	1870
Pennsylvania	27	49	41
Ohio	24	65	46
Ireland	14	9	6
Virginia	13	9	10
Tennessee	12	12	11
Indiana	6	5	12
New Jersey	5	7	5
Kentucky	5	5	2
New York	3	6	8
North Carolina	3	0	2
France	2	1	2
New Hampshire	3	1	0
Germany	1	1	0
Maryland	1	4	5
Georgia	1	0	0
Vermont	0	4	0
Massachusetts	0	2	1
Connecticut	0	1	0
England	0	5	4
Illinois	0	1	2
Switzerland	0	0	3
Iowa	0	0	4
Delaware	0	0	1
Maine	0	0	1
Total.....	120	187	166

However, this is not a completely accurate description of the source of Crawford Township's early population. Although some historians have assumed that many corn belt settlers came directly from their birthplace, because improvements in transportation made long trips easier by mid-century, many of those who came to Crawford Township did not come directly from their state of birth but moved one or more times prior to the move to Iowa. Table II gives a comparison of the birthplace and state of origin of new householders in Crawford Township for the three census report dates.

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF BIRTHPLACE AND STATE OF ORIGIN

New Householdors, 1850, 1860, 1870

1850

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>State of Origin</i>							
		<i>Ohio</i>	<i>Pa.</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Ill.</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Tenn.</i>	<i>N. J.</i>	<i>Va.</i>
Pennsylvania	14	6	6	1	1	0	0	0	0
Ohio	8	6	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Ireland	7	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	0
Virginia	6	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Kentucky	4	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0
New York	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
North Carolina	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
New Jersey	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
New Hampshire	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Indiana	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Germany	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tennessee	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Total.	53	22	8	12	6	1	1	2	1

1860

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>State of Origin</i>									
		<i>Ohio</i>	<i>Pa.</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Ill.</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Tenn.</i>	<i>N.Y.</i>	<i>Mo.</i>	<i>Eng.</i>	<i>Wis.</i>
Ohio	24	20	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pennsylvania	13	6	3	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0
Tennessee	7	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	0	1
Ireland	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
England	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
New Jersey	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New York	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kentucky	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vermont	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Connecticut	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Maryland	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total.	58	32	5	4	7	1	5	1	1	1	1

1870

State of Origin

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Ohio</i>	<i>Pa.</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Ill.</i>	<i>Can- ada</i>	<i>Tenn.</i>	<i>N.Y.</i>	<i>Mo.</i>	<i>Eng.</i>	<i>Ky.</i>	<i>Wis.</i>	<i>Mich.</i>
Ohio	17	12	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Penn.	14	2	8	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indiana	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tenn.	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia . . .	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New York . .	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Maryland . .	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
England . . .	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
No. Car. . .	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Illinois	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maine	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Germany . .	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mass.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Kentucky . .	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Total	55	17	8	7	7	1	6	2	1	3	1	1	1

"State of origin" can be determined only for those householders with children, since the birth dates and birthplaces of the children are used as indicators of last residence. Obviously this method will not fix the place of immediate origin for all householders, and the samples given in Table II represent a check on about two out of five householders in 1850 and about one out of three in 1860 and 1870. Of those whose state of origin can be determined, 30 per cent came directly from their state of birth in 1850, 50 per cent in 1860, and 58 per cent in 1870. Thus, from 42 to 70 per cent of the settlers checked came from states other than the state of their birth. Over half of the new householders listed in Table II came to Iowa direct from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois during this period. In 1850 and 1860 as many as three-fourths of the new householders came from these three states.

Thus, one finds the dominant pattern among pioneer settlers in Crawford Township to be as follows: birth in either Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Tennessee, or Ireland; removal to at least one other state before coming to Iowa; and ultimately removal to Iowa from either Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois.

OCCUPATIONS

Once in Crawford Township, what did the settlers do to make a living? Scholars have assumed that in a frontier region there would be a simpler

and less specialized occupational structure than later. Some specialized occupations would be missing from a frontier society for no other reason than the lack of a demand for certain services. Also, many people on the frontier served in a double and multiple occupational capacity, thus reducing the number of specialists needed. Table III shows that twenty-five occupations, listed in the 1860 and 1870 censuses, were not found in the 1850 census.

TABLE III

NUMBERS IN OCCUPATIONS, 1850, 1860, 1870

	1850	1860	1870
Agricultural			
Farm operators	65	126	180
"Farmers without farms".....	40	54	82
Farm laborers	48	111	115
Miscellaneous	0	0	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.....	153	291	378
Professional			
Ministers	1	5	4
Doctors or Dentists.....	1	4	3
Lawyers	0	2	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.....	2	11	8
Personal Service			
Hotel Keepers	0	1	1
Housekeepers	0	0	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.....	0	1	7
Semiprofessional			
Government officials	0	1	1
Teachers	0	4	7
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.....	0	5	8
Business			
General merchants	2	4	0
Druggists	0	0	2
Dry goods and miscellaneous.....	0	0	4
Grocers	0	1	3
Clerks	1	1	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.....	3	6	9

Artisans

Carpenters	5	13	10
Blacksmiths	2	3	5
Bricklayers	0	1	0
Painters	0	0	1
Coopers	1	1	0
Harness makers	0	1	2
Wagon makers	0	1	2
Shoemakers	4	2	1
Butchers	0	0	1
Tailors	1	1	0
Seamstresses	0	2	1
Engineers	0	1	0
Teamsters	0	0	1
Machinists	1	0	0
Millers	1	0	0
Plasterers	0	1	0
Watchmakers	0	1	0
Silversmiths	0	0	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.....	15	28	25

Unclassified

Railroad contractors	0	0	1
Artists	0	1	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.....	0	1	1

Labor

Domestics	0	32	1
General	7	14	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total ¹⁵	7	46	2
Grand Total	180	389	438

The "farmer without farm" classification in Table III requires some explanation. These men were listed as "farmers" in the population census, but were not listed in the agricultural census. Since such a large number

¹⁵ In these classifications, there are a number of people with more than one occupation. In 1850 there was one blacksmith-farmer (listed as blacksmith in the table) and one shoemaker-farmer (listed as a shoemaker). In 1860 one minister was actually a student minister. In 1870 there were three laborer-farmers (listed as laborers); two farmer-laborers (listed as farmers); one shoemaker-farmer (listed as shoemaker); two minister-farmers (listed as ministers); one doctor-farmer (listed as a doctor); and one blacksmith-farmer (listed as a blacksmith).

were listed in this manner, there must have been some reason for it. A number of theories have been put forth by researchers as to what these people were. Merle Curti, in his recent study of Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, wrestled with the problem and finally concluded that they were an entity unto themselves, somewhat akin to farm laborers, but not quite the same.¹⁶ Paul W. Gates, who has done work with census data in Iowa and the Middle West, considers them to be tenants.¹⁷ Mildred Throne, who recently published a study of Wapello County, Iowa, suggests that some of these men may have been land speculators who referred to themselves as "farmers" in preference to the unpopular identification of "land agent" or "speculator," while others were probably farm laborers, living in separate households.¹⁸

The present writer searched the land title records and tax lists at the county seat of Washington County in the hope of discovering some answer to this puzzling question, but with little positive success. A search of the land records revealed that these people did not own any real estate at the time the census was taken. A look at the tax lists proved even more confusing, for some of these people evidently paid a real property tax, while others paid only personal property taxes. The findings for the latter would seem to confirm that they did not own any real property whatever, but that only makes the problem more baffling.¹⁹

Farming was, of course, the most common occupation in Crawford Township during this period. In 1850 there were 153 men, or 85 per cent of the total gainfully employed, who were involved in farming.²⁰ By 1860

¹⁶ Merle Curti, *The Making of an American Community, A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford, Calif., 1959), 59-60.

¹⁷ Paul W. Gates, "Frontier Estate Builders and Farm Laborers," in Walker Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber (eds.), *The Frontier in Perspective* (Madison, Wisc., 1957), 145-7.

¹⁸ Mildred Throne, "A Population Study of an Iowa County in 1850," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 57:308 (October, 1959).

¹⁹ A search was made for 15 of the householders listed in the 1850 population census as "farmers" but who were not listed in the agricultural census. The *Land Title* book was examined; the *Original Entry* book and the *Tax Lists* were checked. In the 1850 census there were 20 "farmers" without farms listed, and in 1860 there were 56. The number in 1870 was not tabulated, but from working with the data I feel it was even larger than the number in 1860.

²⁰ The definition of "gainfully employed" used throughout this study includes all those reporting an occupation. Those listing "student" or "retired" were not included.

the percentage had decreased to 75 per cent, but it rose to 86 by 1870. More will be said about the farm population later.

AGE

How youthful was the frontier population of Crawford Township? Frederick Jackson Turner and other historians thought that there were more young people in a frontier region than in older, well-settled areas. If this were true, one would expect the ages of the population to increase as the community grew older and more settled. This happened with the Crawford Township population, but the rate of increase was so small as to be hardly meaningful. Table IV gives the distribution of ages for all gainfully employed from 1850 through 1870.

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF AGES — ALL GAINFULLY EMPLOYED²¹

	1850		1860		1870	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 20	39	21.9	76	19.8	73	17.9
20-29	40	22.5	106	27.6	117	28.5
30-39	42	23.6	93	24.2	83	20.2
40-49	38	21.3	53	13.8	66	16.1
50-59	11	6.2	32	8.3	44	10.7
60 and over	8	4.5	24	6.3	27	6.6
<hr/>						
All ages	178	100.0	384	100.0	410	100.0
Average ages . . .	32.5		33.0		34.1	

Looking along the last row of figures one notes an increase, but a very slight one. A look at the individual age groups in Table IV shows a decrease in the percentage of those employed people below age twenty and an increase in the percentage of those above age fifty, but for the ages be-

²¹ In 1860 and 1870 those men (usually farmers' sons between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five) who had no occupations listed by the census taker (for what reason is not known) were considered as laborers — either farm laborers or general laborers, depending primarily upon where and with whom they resided. This seemed justified, since it was done by the census takers in 1850 and part of the time in 1860 and 1870. To leave these men out of the listing of gainfully employed would distort the results here. The number of those not reporting an occupation in 1860 or 1870, who were considered here to be laborers, were: (1860) 44 — all were between ages 15-25 except 3; further, 23 were under 20, 19 between 20-29, and 2 between 30-39; (1870) 97 — all between ages 15 and 25 except 11; further, 58 were under 20, 31 between 20-29, 2 between 30-39, 3 between 40-49, 2 between 50-59, and one was over 60.

tween twenty and fifty the picture is more confused with the percentages increasing or decreasing in one census and then reversing themselves in the next.

Some historians have felt that the westward movement was always a family movement and that a true picture of the maturity of a community is obtained by taking only the ages of householders. Table V gives the age distribution of householders in Crawford Township during each of the three census reporting periods. The results in this case are higher and tend to refute the idea of the youthfulness of the frontier population. But this leaves out from 30 to 40 per cent of the population who were listed by the census takers as part of the work force of the community. Consideration of this group in arriving at the maturity of the community seems more accurate, if we wish to find out how youthful the *community* was. Admittedly, ages of householders will give the most accurate age picture of the heads of households who led the westward movement, in contrast to the average ages in the community after it had become settled.

TABLE V
DISTRIBUTION OF AGES — ALL HOUSEHOLDERS

	1850		1860		1870	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 20	0	0	1	.4	0	0
20-29	23	19.2	33	15.3	36	14.4
30-39	42	35.0	81	37.5	71	28.4
40-49	37	30.8	52	24.1	64	25.6
50-59	11	9.2	28	13.0	43	17.2
60 and over	7	5.8	21	9.7	36	14.4
<hr/>						
All ages	120	100.0	216	100.0	250	100.0
Average age	39.0		41.1		43.8	

Another common assumption about the frontier was that there were more single men than later. Therefore, one would expect to find more single men listed in the census figures for Crawford Township in 1850 than in 1860 and 1870. Here the findings do not endorse the supposition. Table VI shows that in Crawford Township in 1850, 36.5 per cent of the gainfully employed were single; in 1860, 38.8 per cent; and in 1870, 37.7 per cent. A check of only householders refutes the assumption even more markedly, for only 4 single householders were listed in the 1850 and 1860 census reports, and none in 1870.

TABLE VI

	1850		1860		1870	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Single	65	36.5	131	38.8	145	37.7
Married	113	63.5	207	61.2	240	62.3
Total	178	100.0	338	100.0	385	100.0

Studying Table VI further, one sees that the percentage of single men is not only smaller than that of married men, but the percentage of single men actually increases through the decades, rather than decreasing. The percentage of increase here is slight and not very important, but the fact that there is an increase at all certainly refutes the assumption as tested by Crawford Township's population.

It has been supposed too that single women were less numerous on the frontier. The situation in Crawford Township bears this out, for in 1850 there were only 34 single women (all those over fifteen years of age, and widows) as compared to 65 single men, which makes the ratio of single men to single women slightly less than two to one. By 1860 there were 77 single women as compared to 131 single men, which again is a ratio of a little less than two to one. In 1870 there were 112 single women, compared to 145 single men, which decreased the ratio, but still left more single men than women.

FARMING IN FRONTIER CRAWFORD TOWNSHIP

Farmers made up at least three-fourths of the population of Crawford Township in all three censuses examined. This was obviously an agrarian economy, and therefore farming is deserving of some special attention here.

Crawford Township contains 23,040 acres of land, and by 1850 about 48.5 per cent, or 11,178 acres, was reported as farm land. The area was being settled rapidly, and by 1870, 87 per cent, or 20,148 acres, was listed in the farms of the township.

The census taker reported 67 farm units averaging 167 acres in size in 1850. These farms averaged 52 improved acres and 115 unimproved. By 1860 the number of farms had nearly doubled, but the average size had declined to 132 acres. The average number of improved acres per farm increased from 52 in 1850 to 81 in 1860. There was still 39 per cent of the acreage of the average farm unimproved. From these figures one

sees that the average farmer tended to work about one acre out of three in 1850, but had nearly reversed the tendency by 1860 and improved three out of every five acres owned. By 1870 the number of farms had increased to 201, but the average size had declined to 107 acres.²² The average number of improved acres was 79, a decrease of two acres from the 1870 figures. Still, this represented an increase in the amount of improved land on the average farm from 61 per cent in 1860 to 74 per cent in 1870. The average farmer in the township now worked about three out of every four acres on his farm.

From this data one gets a picture of an increasing number of farmers on smaller and smaller farms, but with a larger percentage of the acreage improved. This seems a reasonable sequence of events, for the older settlers who had larger amounts of land doubtless seized the opportunity to sell some of it at considerable profit to newly arrived settlers, or they divided some of their land among their sons who had grown to maturity and wished to go on their own. The decline in the size of farm units also might be related to the fact that Crawford Township had no railroad during the period of this study. There would be little incentive to increase one's holdings and enterprise if there were no prospect of cheap transportation of surplus produce to market afforded by a convenient railroad. This might also explain the seeming paradox that as the frontier farming community of Crawford Township became more mechanized and able to do large-scale farming, the farm units became smaller.

A look at the largest and smallest amounts of land held during this period gives further support to the conclusion that land holdings became smaller and more numerous after the initial frontier period of settlement. In 1850 the largest number of acres held by one person was 730, the smallest number was 40. In 1860 the high was 468 and the low, 26. By 1870 the largest acreage was 433 and the smallest, 8.

Even more meaningful are the numbers of people holding these large and small acreages during the period. In 1850, 48 farmers, or 71.6 per cent of the 67 listed in the agricultural census, reported farms of 100 acres or more; no one held an acreage of less than 40 acres, and only 8 out of the 67, or 11.9 per cent of the total, held less than 80 acres. By 1860, 69 farmers, or 54.8 per cent of the total, held farms over 100 acres in size;

²² Actually, the census listed 13 farmers as "renters" and did not give any acreage. These were omitted from the totals in figuring the average acreage.

19.8 per cent, or 25 out of the total of 126 farmers, held less than 80 acres. In 1870 there were only 89 farmers out of 188, or 47.3 per cent, who possessed more than 100 acres of land. On the other hand, there were 58, or 30.9 per cent of the total, who held less than 80 acres.

How much were these frontier farms worth? The average farm in Crawford Township in 1850 was valued at \$909. Using the average number of acres in 1850, one finds that the average land value was about \$5.00 per acre, which shows a rise over the government price of \$1.25 which was paid for some of the farms a decade earlier.²³ As already noted, there was considerable improvement of farms during the 1850's, and by 1860 the average value per farm had increased to \$2,234, while the average value per acre increased to nearly \$17. The increase in land values continued during the 1860's, and by 1870 the average value, based on values reported in the 1870 agricultural census, had risen to \$3,393.²⁴ This represented an average value per acre of \$31. Again, these figures for the three census periods represent what one would assume about a frontier situation, namely that the land values would be low to begin with, but would increase rapidly as the frontier became more populated and the land improved.

Most of the Crawford Township farmers of this period owned machinery of some kind, although this was not always true, for custom work was evidently done even at this early date. Still, a look at the pattern of machinery values is revealing in that from it one can gauge farm costs and mechanization. The average farmer in 1850 valued his machinery at \$62; in 1860 the figure jumped to \$93; and by 1870 the figure had risen to \$111. Part of this increase is probably explained by an increasing cost of equipment, but part of it undoubtedly represents an increase in the amount and kind of machinery. Only two farmers in 1850 reported no machinery value; four did not give any figure in 1860; and sixty farmers reported no value in 1870. This last figure represents about 30 per cent of all farmers in 1870 and seems important, for from it one might conclude that custom

²³ An examination of the *Original Entry* and *Land Title* books at the county seat of Washington County showed that a considerable number of the farms listed in the 1850 agricultural census were purchased for the government price of \$1.25 per acre. Some of these farms were still in the possession of the original owners in 1850.

²⁴ Here again the 13 farmers listed as "renters" were eliminated from the total number in figuring the average farm value, since neither acreage nor farm value was listed for them in the agricultural census. They have, however, been included in figuring all other averages, since the information was given.

farm work was coming into increasing prominence. A look at subsequent censuses would afford a more definitive conclusion here.

The corn belt frontiersmen of Crawford Township were owners of a surprising number of livestock. The average farmer of 1850 owned two or three horses, one or two oxen, about a dozen sheep, nearly two dozen hogs, two or three milch cows, and about four beef cattle. There were also a few mules reported in the 1850 census, but not in very large numbers. The horse was by far the most commonly owned beast of burden; 60 out of 67 farmers reported owning at least one or more, whereas only 26 farmers reported owning any oxen. The number of oxen rapidly declined from the 103 reported in 1850 to only 4 in 1870.

In 1860 the average Crawford Township farmer still owned from two to three horses. Sheep production had been curtailed, however, and the average farmer owned only two sheep. Swine production also fell off, the average being only 13 in 1860. There were only 74 oxen reported, and these were owned by only 26 farmers out of the total of 126. The average cattle herd for the previous year contained seven cattle, three of which were milch cows and the remaining four, beef cattle.

By 1870 the average farmer owned three or four horses and had a cattle herd of nine cows, three of which were milch cows and the remainder beef cattle. Sheep production was still in a slump when compared with 1850, as the average number reported was from five to six. Swine production was very near the 1860 level, with an average of eleven or twelve swine to a herd.

In none of the three census reports was there real evidence of a concentrated effort to establish dairying on any large scale. There were possibly isolated attempts, in that the farm census for 1850 listed two farmers who reported milking herds of ten cows for the previous year; in 1860, one farmer reported owning a herd of thirteen cows; and in 1870, two farmers reported nine and ten milch cows respectively. All other farmers reported lesser figures, with the averages cited being near the commonly reported figures.

Although dairying does not seem to have been prominent during the period, there was a lively interest in providing butter and a little cheese for home use. Individual amounts of butter varied from farmer to farmer and bore a relationship to the number of milch cows owned, the average amount reported in 1850 being 63 pounds. In 1860 the average was 192

pounds, over three times the average of 1850. By 1869 the figure had declined again, an average of 164 pounds being reported in 1870.

Crawford Township farmers grew a variety of field crops during the period 1850-1870. This is reflected in the agricultural census report figures for the previous year. In 1849 the average Crawford Township farmer harvested 442 bushels of corn, 64 bushels of wheat, and 84½ bushels of oats. The curing of hay had not come into any prominence as yet, and only nine farmers reported curing any hay. The total tonnage reported was only 57 tons. By 1860 corn and wheat production held steady, the same ratio of approximately seven bushels of corn to one of wheat being harvested. Oat production fell off, however, and the average reported yield per farm was but 33 bushels. Hay curing became important by 1860, and 98 farmers reported curing a ton or more of hay during the previous year. The average amount of hay cured by Crawford Township farmers during 1859 was 32 tons. During the 1860's production seems to have shifted back to the 1849 levels. In 1870 average wheat production reported for the previous year was 74 bushels, the corn production averaged 335 bushels per farm. Oat growing took on new life, however, and the average yield per farm was approximately 94 bushels. The curing of hay decreased with the average reported for 1869 being only 13 tons.

Besides the crops already mentioned, some Crawford Township farmers harvested small acreages of barley, potatoes, sorghum (which was used for molasses), rye, peas, buckwheat, beans, sweet potatoes, and orchard produce. In 1860 and 1870 there were a few farmers who kept bees and were successful honey producers. Although none of these enterprises produced quantities of any significance, there were rather large numbers involved in this small-scale production. For example, in 1860, 94 out of 126 farmers, or 75 per cent, reported some potatoes harvested during the previous year; 73 per cent of all farmers reported some sorghum production for molasses; and 50, or nearly one half of all farmers, reported some harvesting of buckwheat. Orchard production came into a kind of prominence during the 1860's, and in 1870, 39 of the 201 farmers reported some orchard produce harvested.

From this data on farm production, one can conclude that Crawford Township farmers were not subsistence farmers but engaged in commercial farming at an early date. Swine raising was engaged in extensively in 1850, with 94 per cent of the 67 farmers raising from one to 313. Beef

cattle raising was also a commercial enterprise engaged in on a limited scale. Sheep production was also being done for commercial gain. Actually, however, the Crawford Township farmers were grain farmers rather than livestock producers, for it was on the growing of corn, wheat, and oats that they evidently focused their enterprise. In all three of the agricultural censuses examined, corn and wheat production was high and relatively stabilized as to average production. Of course, with more farmers each succeeding census period, the total production was greater.

Crawford Township was particularly prosperous during the 1850's as reflected in land values, livestock ownership, and crop production figures. This period was one of almost world-wide prosperity and would indicate that the Iowa pioneer farmers, as represented by Crawford Township, at least, shared in these widespread good times. Of course, the depression years of the late 1850's and the Civil War decade following them make the contrast between this prosperity and hard times more pronounced.

THE NON-FARM POPULATION

But what of those who came to Crawford Township who were not farmers? Was there much opportunity for them? And were those who came, seeking a livelihood in other than agricultural pursuits, successful? Answers to these questions are more difficult to find, since the census reports do not include information about their businesses or aspects of the urban economy. However, a certain amount of information is available in the population census which can aid somewhat in understanding the pioneer situation as it involved the non-farm population of Crawford Township.

It would be significant if one could show that the percentage involved in non-agricultural occupations increased with the passing decades as did the complexity of the occupational system, but the facts do not show this. In 1850 only 15 per cent of those gainfully employed were in non-farm occupations. During the 1850's the percentage increased to 25 per cent, but during the 1860's the number declined to that of the 1840's, and in the 1870 census one finds only 14 per cent of those reporting occupations doing non-agricultural work. These figures would seem to indicate that there was certainly some opportunity for those who did not choose to farm, but that the opportunity was definitely limited. Again, the lack of a railroad in the township probably best accounts for the decline in non-farm numbers,

for without some degree of farm prosperity there would be little demand for certain personal services provided by the urban community. The increase in the percentage involved in special occupations during the 1850's was no doubt due to the prosperity which prevailed then. Actually, Crawford Township only began to suffer from its lack of railroad facilities at the very end of the 1850's when other townships in the county got such facilities. Before that time the township prospered as much or more than other townships in the county, and Crawfordsville was about the third leading town in the county.

Table VII shows that the percentage of turnover for all occupations was high, but because of the small numbers employed in specialized occupations in the township, one or two leaving meant a turnover of 100 per cent. Also, the information in Table VII shows that the turnover of farmers and others in agriculture decreased during the 1850's, whereas this was not true for most of the specialized non-agricultural occupations. There was only one from the non-agricultural group, a shoemaker, who stayed through all three census reporting periods, and even then he reported himself a farmer in 1870.

TABLE VII

PERSISTENCE AND TURNOVER — GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

	<i>All</i> <i>1850</i>	<i>1850</i> <i>Only</i>	<i>1850-1860</i>	<i>1850-1870</i>	<i>%</i> <i>Lv.</i>	<i>All</i> <i>1860</i>	<i>1860</i> <i>Only</i>	<i>1860-1870</i>	<i>%</i> <i>Lv.</i>
All Farmers	105	80	8	17	76	180	102	52	61
Farm Laborers	48	46	2	0	96	111	105	4	97
Other Laborers	7	6	1	0	86	14	13	0	100
Ministers	1	1	0	0	100	5	3	2	60
Doctors/Dentists . .	1	1	0	0	100	4	3	1	75
Lawyers	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	100
General Merchants .	2	2	0	0	100	4	4	0	100
Hotel Keepers	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	100
Grocers	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	100
Carpenters	5	3	2	0	60	13	10	1	92
Blacksmiths	2	2	0	0	100	3	1	2	33
Bricklayers	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	100
Coopers	1	1	0	0	100	1	1	0	100
Harness Makers . . .	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Watchmakers	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	100
Wagon Makers	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	100
Shoemakers	4	4	0	0	100	3	2	1	67
Tailors	1	1	0	0	100	1	1	0	100

Seamstresses	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	100
Machinists	1	1	0	0	100	0	0	0	0
Engineers	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	100
Plasterers	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	100
Millers	1	1	0	0	100	0	0	0	0
Artists	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	100
Clerks	1	1	0	0	100	1	1	0	100
Constable	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	100

Although Table VII shows the turnover of people in various occupations in Crawford Township during this period, it does not tell the whole story, for some of the people who left certain lines of work evidently stayed in the township and took up new jobs. For example, one of the 80 farmers included under "1850 only" was listed as a merchant in the 1860 census; a farmer included under "1850-1860" was a carpenter in 1870; one of the merchants in 1850 listed himself as a farmer in 1860; a shoemaker in 1850 was a farmer in 1860 and again in 1870; one carpenter in 1850 listed himself as a farmer in 1860; two farmers in 1860 became laborers by the next census; one farmer in the 1860 census was a minister in 1870; two others were listed as a blacksmith and carpenter respectively; still another was a dry goods merchant in 1870; the watchmaker listed in the 1860 figures called himself a silversmith in 1870; one of the laborers in the 1860 census was a farmer in the 1870 census report; the hotel keeper in 1860 stayed but became a grocer by 1870; the tailor listed in the 1860 report gave up tailoring and went to farming by 1870; one farmer, in the 1860 census, listed himself as a lawyer in 1870; and, finally, one man was a farmer in 1850, an "engineer" in 1860, and a farmer again in 1870.

It is difficult to evaluate the effect of the Civil War on the numbers of gainfully employed people in Crawford Township. The war probably had some effect on the non-farm population, for a county history mentions that Dr. H. C. Hull was the only doctor in Crawfordsville during the war, whereas Table VII shows that there were four doctors in the township in 1860.²⁵ Since one of these, a Dr. J. D. Miles, was listed in the 1870 census, it is very possible that three of the four doctors served in the war.

In dealing with the question of the economic success of the non-farm group one must deal with those who stayed, and this figure for Crawford Township is too small. Only seven people with urban occupations stayed

²⁵ *History of Washington County, 1880*, 635.

through the 1860 census reporting date. By 1870, one changed his occupation to farming, one died, and the other five evidently left the township. Further, of the 396 gainfully employed people listed in the 1860 census, only 105 were still in the township in 1870. Seventeen of this number had occupations which are classified as non-farm. A valid comparison of the wealth of the farmer and non-farmer in Crawford Township can hardly be made with such small numbers of non-farmers.

Even were the number of non-farmers larger, a comparison would be difficult since the 1850 census reports give only the value of real estate and not personal property. The 1860 and 1870 reports give both values, but the census takers in both years, for some unexplained reason, were not always consistent in taking down the data and often listed different real estate values in the population census and the agricultural census. It is impossible to know which value is the correct one and any study made of wealth in Crawford Township would be severely limited as to its validity by this handicap alone.

PERSISTENCE

Another question about the frontier region of Crawford Township is concerned with the duration of the stay of those who settled there. This geographic mobility, or the lack of it, has been referred to as "persistence" and is worthy of investigation because of the unique characteristic of a mobile population. Why did such large numbers stay for such a short time and then move on? Numerous conjectures have been made in answer to this question, ranging from such causes as farm depression periods to what is described as "sheer restlessness."²⁶ Undoubtedly, discouragement over crops, marketing slumps, love of adventure, and other elements did play a part in causing some people to move. Without first-hand reports from the settlers themselves, it is impossible to give any definitive answer to the question. However, certain factors assumed to be influential can be checked to see if there is any relationship. Admittedly, these results are not conclusive, but they do offer insight which could not be gained otherwise.

In the tables dealing with persistence which follow, all gainfully employed people have been considered, with minor exceptions to be mentioned, and percentages calculated on the basis of how many stayed through one or more census periods. Domestic and schoolteachers have

²⁶ Curti, *Making of an American Community*, 65-6. A number of helpful ideas as to method and system of presentation have been gained from this source.

been eliminated from this part of the study because they so often were young single women who married and were no longer traceable through the census records. To include them would distort the picture of turnover.

Data concerning the relationship to persistence of the factors of occupation, of real property, age, and marital status have been analyzed in respect to frontier Crawford Township, and the results appear on the following pages.

Did a man's occupation determine in some way how long he stayed in a pioneer community? The information presented in Table VII would seem to indicate that this was true, for the turnover was high, and particularly so for non-farm occupations. As previously suggested, numbers for certain occupations in a rural township study such as this would be very low, and any move would amount to a large percentage of turnover. These skilled, professional, and business people lived in Crawfordsville and depended upon the rural community for their livelihood. It has already been indicated that a decline in farm prosperity would bring on a decline of the urban economy and result in numbers of the non-farm population moving on to places affording more opportunities.

A look at Table VII also shows a high rate of turnover for the farm population, particularly among the farm laborers when the community was new. These men generally did not own property and worked for someone else.²⁷ Perhaps the possibility of available free land elsewhere lured many of these away. Certainly they had more reason to be discontented with their lot than many farmers who owned land.

If there is a relationship between the factor of occupation and persistence, it is one of supply or demand in respect to certain specialized jobs and one of discontent with a lowly occupation on the part of less skilled workers. But, this does not shed any light as to why settlers who possessed real wealth left after a short period of time. Some of these were possibly speculators who realized their gain and moved on. But Table VIII shows that the percentage of turnover was considerably greater for those who owned \$100 or less of real property than for those who owned substantially more. These people who owned little property possibly grew discouraged with their lot also and moved to what they hoped was a place

²⁷ Some men whom the census taker listed as "laborers" in the population census were also listed in the agricultural census as farm owners and producers. Why these men were classified "laborers" is not explained, nor readily explainable.

where they would find more success. Still, owning large amounts of real estate was no bar to moving, as is shown by the fact that 50 per cent of those owning \$5,000 or more left the township in 1860. This group possibly purchased the land with the major purpose in mind of realizing on their investment as property values rose and then moving on to newer areas where land was cheaper.

TABLE VIII

VALUE OF REAL PROPERTY AS A FACTOR IN PERSISTENCE

<i>Value of Real Property</i>	1850			1860		
	<i>No. Gainfully Employed</i>	<i>No. Leaving</i>	<i>% Lv.</i>	<i>No. Gainfully Employed</i>	<i>No. Leaving</i>	<i>% Lv.</i>
\$0-99	89	79	89	160	138	86
100-499	21	18	86	30	24	80
500-999	38	26	68	42	26	62
1000-1499	24	17	71	25	49	36
1500-1999	2	2	100	35	19	54
2000-2499	8	5	63	18	8	44
2500-4999	1	0	0	34	20	59
5000 and over ...	0	0	0	10	5	50

Was age a factor in persistence? Here one finds on examining the information given in Table IX that the answer would be "yes." The percentages of those who left are definitely higher for the lower aged groups than for the higher. In addition, death may have contributed to the rather high percentage for the older groups, and eliminating all known deaths would lower the percentage still more and would show the relationship in an even more pronounced fashion.

TABLE IX

AGE AS A FACTOR IN PERSISTENCE

<i>Age</i>	1850			1860		
	<i>No. Gainfully Employed</i>	<i>No. Leaving</i>	<i>% Lv.</i>	<i>No. Gainfully Employed</i>	<i>No. Leaving</i>	<i>% Lv.</i>
Under 20	39	33	87	61	56	92
20-29	41	37	90	92	78	87
30-39	42	30	71	92	61	66
40-49	38	30	79	52	31	60
50-59	11	8	73	29	14	48
60 and over	8	6	75	22	13	59
All ages	179	144	80	348	253	73

Finally, would marital status have anything to do with whether or not a

settler tended to "pick up and leave"? The difference in percentages of those leaving for married and unmarried gainfully employed men, as shown by Table X, would definitely lead to a conclusion that marital status did relate to the duration of one's stay in Crawford Township. Single men tended to be much more mobile, and the figures in Table X show that the gap between percentages of single and married men leaving was growing during the decade between 1850 and 1860. The number of single men leaving during the 1850's and 1860's was rather stable at about 90 per cent of the total. For married men, on the other hand, the percentage was a little over 70 per cent during the 1850's, but decreased to slightly under 60 per cent during the 1860's.

TABLE X
MARITAL STATUS AS A FACTOR IN PERSISTENCE

	1850			1860		
	<i>No. Gainfully Employed</i>	<i>No. Leaving</i>	<i>% Lv.</i>	<i>No. Gainfully Employed</i>	<i>No. Leaving</i>	<i>% Lv.</i>
Single	65	59	91	131	116	89
Married	113	83	73	207	117	57

Undoubtedly there are other factors, such as nativity and the number of dependents, for example, that influenced people to leave Crawford Township during these years at the middle of the nineteenth century. Study of these factors in relation to the Crawford Township population would probably reveal further insights as to why people "persisted" or did not "persist." But, for the factors checked here, the results corroborate what one would assume about a community of people — pioneer or otherwise. For, one would not expect old people, or married men with families,²⁸ or people with large property interests, to be as mobile as some others. With different incentives, commitments, and motivations, they would be expected to give stability to a community.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER STUDIES

As mentioned in the introduction, such studies of frontier communities as this one are becoming more popular with historians and sociologists. One of the pioneers in this type of study is James C. Malin, who has done a number of such studies in Kansas. Malin has provided a method by

²⁸ Here Curti found, interestingly, that the number of dependents a man had did not seem to be a deterrent to his leaving, for a man with five dependents was as likely to move on as a man with only a wife as a dependent.

which such studies can be undertaken and has made some very significant findings. Comparison of certain findings of this study will be made with those of his Kansas studies, Merle Curti's work on Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, and Allan G. Bogue's in Hamilton County, Iowa.²⁹

Malin found that on the Kansas frontier there was a high turnover, that stability of population grew as the community became older, and that new settlers were always more unstable than older settlers.³⁰ This, he makes clear, does not allow for the often repeated conclusion that the best stayed and the worst moved. The findings of this study would seem to agree with what Malin found in Kansas, for although the period was very short, it is evident that a more stabilizing influence had developed by 1870 in Crawford Township, and certainly the older settlers tended to persist as time passed. For example, 21 of the 36 people who stayed during the 1850's also stayed during the 1860's.

In most of the samples that Malin studied he found there was a tendency toward greater stability during periods of prosperity. In this study, Table VII shows that this was also true in Crawford Township, for there was a greater turnover of population during the 1850's, which was a period of prosperity, than for the 1860's which followed. This occurred in spite of the Civil War during the 1860's which is known to have taken some men out of the township.³¹ As to the stability of the non-farm population, both Malin's studies and this one found that they were the most unstable — much more so than the farm community.

Malin also worked with the immediate origins of the settlers in the Kansas counties which he studied. He found that most of the settlers did not come directly from their state of birth, although the proportion which did increased after 1875. He found also that most people "skipped" a state or

²⁹ James C. Malin, "J. A. Walker's Early History of Edwards County," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 9:259-84 (August, 1940); "The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas, *ibid.*, 4:339-72 (November, 1935); *The Grassland of North America: Prolegomena to Its History* (Lawrence, Kans., 1947), 278-322 (hereafter cited as Malin, *Grassland*). Curti, *Making of an American Community*; Allan G. Bogue, "Pioneer Farmers and Innovation," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 56:1-36 (January, 1958).

³⁰ Here Malin traced this pattern into the twentieth century, which the present study does not attempt to do.

³¹ *Atlas of Washington County, Iowa* (Davenport, 1906), 128, lists the 163 men from the township who served in the war. All of Co. I, 25th Infantry, was recruited from Crawford Township.

two on coming to Kansas instead of coming from adjacent states. In general, the findings described in this article agree with this.

In his study of Edwards County, Kansas, in 1857, which was experiencing a frontier period comparable to that of Crawford Township about 1850, Malin found that there were 19 out of 54, or 35.6 per cent, of those for whom place of immediate origin could be determined who came from their state of birth. His study involved 70 householders. This study includes 120 householders for 1850 and determined the state of immediate origin for 53, 16 of whom came from their state of birth. Although the percentage here is slightly less (30.2 per cent) than Malin's, there is a basic agreement in the findings.³²

In respect to age distribution, Malin states in his chapter on "Population Studies" in *The Grassland of North America*,³³ that the median age for farm operators in certain selected townships in Kansas in 1860 ranged from 32.8 to 37.0 (according to rain belt). A check of median ages of all householders, farm and non-farm, in Crawford Township showed them to be 38.0 in 1850, 39.0 in 1860, and 42.0 in 1870, which are higher than Malin's but slightly lower than the average ages given in Table V. Malin's Edwards County study showed that in 1875 about 20 per cent of the rural householders were forty-five years of age or above and almost the same per cent were below age thirty.³⁴ Ages of householders in Crawford Township in 1850 showed a very similar distribution, with 15 per cent age fifty or above and 19 per cent below age thirty.

It needs to be pointed out here that in much of this study, all gainfully employed people in the Crawford Township population were included in computing and tabulating, particularly in relation to occupation and turnover. Malin always checks only farm operators and their wives, which he considers the statistically meaningful element of the frontier population.

Curti, using basically the same definition for gainfully employed as that used in this study, found a slightly younger population in Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, and he also found the change in age as the community grew older to be more pronounced.³⁵

In respect to the agricultural part of this study, comparison will be

³² Malin, "Walker's Early History of Edwards County," 265-6.

³³ Malin, *Grassland*, 289.

³⁴ Malin, "Walker's Early History of Edwards County," 265.

³⁵ Curti, *Making of an American Community*, 55-6.

made with Malin's findings in Kansas and Bogue's work in Hamilton County, Iowa, since Curti did not examine farm production. Malin found that farm units decreased in size after the Civil War, but attributes it to periods of boom and bust. During periods of prosperity the farms he studied increased in size; in depression periods they decreased. The great decrease in farm size following the Civil War exactly coincided with the depression period which came after the war.

In his study of Kanwaka Township in Douglas County, Kansas, Malin found that in 1860, 71 farms out of 81, or 87.9 per cent, were between 100 and 174 acres in size; none were above 500 acres. Since this township is in eastern Kansas, 1860 represents a comparable date in its development to that of 1850 in the development of Crawford Township. As already stated, the size of the average farm in Crawford Township in 1850 was 167 acres. Both studies show 160 acres to be the predominant size of the early Midwestern pioneer farms.

Both Malin and Bogue have studied the field production of frontier farmers in the counties they examined. Bogue's study of farming practices and innovation in Hamilton County, Iowa, and Malin's Kansas studies found substantially the same situation to be true as was found in Crawford Township. All of these studies found corn to be the dominant crop. The growing of wheat, oats, and Irish potatoes was common to all these frontier areas also. The occasional crops of rye, buckwheat, and barley were grown in all these areas, but not always during the same periods. For example, Malin found that such crops practically disappeared in Kansas after 1860, whereas in Crawford Township and Hamilton County it was after 1860 that such crops made an appearance. In addition, there was some interest shown from time to time in experimental crops: in Kansas it was interest in sweet potatoes, flax, castor beans, and hemp; in Hamilton County, flax; and in Crawford Township, sweet potatoes.

Curti, while not examining farm production in terms of crops and livestock, did check other aspects of the frontier situation in Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, which this study has examined in respect to Crawford Township. One of the subjects treated in both studies was that of persistence. Here Curti went into considerable and exhaustive detail and analysis of many factors related to persistence. Among them were the four factors examined in this study. Curti found that those with higher property values were not as prone to move as those with lower property values or no prop-

erty at all.³⁶ There was agreement in both studies that single men were much more mobile than married men.³⁷ Curti found basically the same situation existing as was found in Crawford Township in respect to the relation of mobility and age. In both cases the general implication of the findings was that older people were less likely to move, but in both cases the results in percentages of those leaving were not as pronounced for the older groups as one might have assumed.³⁸

SUMMARY

This study is an attempt to measure in an objective manner what the Crawford Township population was like and what changes occurred to it between 1850 and 1870. In seeking an answer to the question of where the people who settled in frontier Crawford Township came from, the findings partially endorsed the general assumptions of those historians who have supposed that most of the people on the Midwestern frontier came from Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the Middle Atlantic states. However, it has shown that a number of the early settlers were born in the South and foreign countries, particularly Ireland. Certainly as the community grew older the numbers who came from the neighboring states of the Old Northwest increased. A check of immediate origins showed that in the early years of settlement most people did not come directly to Iowa from their state of birth, but made at least one move prior to the move to Iowa. Later, the percentage of those coming from states of their birth increased, but so did the percentage of those born in neighboring states.

As to what the people did for a living, the study showed that most of them were farmers and that opportunity for others in non-farm occupations was limited. Throughout the study the greater degree of stability among the farm population was apparent. The study showed further that there was a simpler and less specialized occupational structure in the early stages of the pioneer community's development than later.

In respect to the relative age of the population in Crawford Township, the study shows that two sets of figures can be arrived at by using either the ages of all employed people or only that of householders. Using the ages of all gainfully employed people gives a more youthful community

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 67-8.

³⁷ *Idem.*

³⁸ See *ibid.*, and for a comparison, see Table IX, *supra*.

than when only householder ages are considered. The former figures endorse the Turnerian theory of the youthfulness of a frontier community and are considered more accurate here if it is the age-complexion of the community which is being sought.

In checking the belief of some historians that there were more single men in a really frontier community by the situation in Crawford Township, the findings did not support the supposition. Not only were there actually fewer single men (about half as many) than married men, but the number of single men increased instead of decreased as the community grew older.

However, the findings in Crawford Township did not support the view that there would be fewer single women on the frontier than later. The number of single women in Crawford Township increased steadily as the community became more settled. Likewise, the ratio of single men to single women grew smaller as the community became older and more settled.

In the study's emphasis on pioneer farming in Crawford Township, one of the chief findings was that farms became progressively smaller as the community became more settled. Paradoxically, this was taking place at a time when technology was making it easier to farm more land. However, as indicated by Malin's work in Kansas, a lengthier study would possibly show patterns in farm size which in turn might explain this seeming paradox. The study of Crawford Township farms also showed that there was more and more improved land on the farm as the community grew older. Land values also increased as the community matured, a natural result of the improvement of the farms.

An examination of certain selected factors relating to persistence revealed that those who did not own land tended to be more mobile and to leave the township in larger numbers than those who owned property, that age influenced one's tendency to leave or stay, that the younger people tended to move on rather than the older ones, that single men were more mobile than married men, and that those in non-farm occupations moved on more rapidly than those in farming.

CONCLUSION

Midwestern frontier society has usually been described as a simple one, where sturdy pioneers planted their corn in the clearings or on the prairie and eventually came to own their "hundred and sixties." Through hard

work and unearned increment, these men of little means became the backbone of the community, gave it stability, and determined its character.

From studies such as the one on which this article is based, we can realize that pioneer society was much more complex than previously pictured. No longer can one safely make the assumptions given above, for objective quantitative evidence is forcing revision of former views about the frontier and is introducing new aspects of the frontier situation which were unforeseen earlier.

Still, much remains to be done, for this newer approach to the study of pioneer America reveals new problems as well as suggests answers to old ones. However, if the historian is to understand the frontier accurately he must constantly extend his knowledge of that frontier. Only in this way will the unique patterns of pioneer society reveal themselves.

A CRITIC VIEWS IOWA'S FIRST MILITARY POST

*By Donald Jackson**

Because documents relating to old Fort Madison are not plentiful, each new one that comes to light is noteworthy — even a crank letter from an anonymous writer. The letter presented here contains some facts not recorded elsewhere, but it must, of course, be read with skepticism.

Perhaps the letter is more significant as a mirror of the times than as a source of information. There was turmoil on the Mississippi River frontier in the years just before the War of 1812. Life was hard; French, British, and American interests were in conflict; and many men were quick to complain. Newspapers carried vituperative editorials and accepted scurrilous letters from subscribers, and it was common for a disgruntled citizen to write directly to the heads of government in Washington. And so, when "A Democrat" wished to complain about conditions at Fort Madison in 1811, he wrote directly to the Secretary of War.

The author of the letter appears to be a civilian who has either lived at the fort or visited it many times, and he is clearly not of French descent — unlike most of the civilians about the fort. He cares enough about the situation to write a bitter letter. He is disturbed about the awarding of the sutler's post and alleged discrimination against American traders. Perhaps he is one of the two Americans who, he says, have been denied the sutler-ship by the commander.

Fort Madison provided a livelihood for perhaps a dozen civilians and supplemented the incomes of many more. Of those living at the post, the man who had the most contact with the military was the sutler, a dealer in goods for the comfort and convenience of the soldiers — including food items not in the army ration. Two other important civilians were those hired by the War Department to deal with the Indians: the factor who engaged in trade with the tribes, and the sub-agent who counseled with them, heard their grievances, and directed their relations with the government. Each of these men required an interpreter, and the factor also had a full-

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time assistant. Lesser figures included the contractor's agent, who supervised the slaughter of beeves and the issuance of rations to the post; the blacksmith who repaired guns and traps for the Indians; the interpreter assigned to the commander of the fort; and a number of laborers. Add to these the itinerant traders and boatmen, the wives of the officers, and the coterie of "tame" Indians that frequented the camp, and it is possible to say that Fort Madison's soldiers were at times nearly outnumbered by non-combatants.

Built in late 1808 under the direction of Lieutenant Alpha Kingsley, the fort was located some ten miles above the Des Moines Rapids of the Mississippi River. During its five-year history it was manned by from sixty to eighty men of the First Infantry Regiment, United States Army. The position was found to be untenable, however, and after a serious attack by Indians in 1812, and another in 1813, Fort Madison was abandoned by the soldiers and civilians stationed there.

Had the post survived, these people might have become the founders of the city that now bears the name of Fort Madison. But within two years after the writing of this diatribe, nothing remained of the fort but a scattering of stone chimneys; soldiers and civilians alike had withdrawn in the face of constant Indian attacks.

The letter follows:

A HINT¹

Do not be surprised at receiving an anonymous letter — the nature of my situation at present requires it.

Captain H. Stark² of the 1st Regt. Infantry says that a *limited Mon-*

¹ The letter is in the National Archives, filed in the D-1811 section of the Unregistered Letters series, Record Group 107, which is the correspondence of the Secretary of War. It bears no date, but since the annotation on the back states that it was received on Nov 8, 1811, it probably was written in early October of that year. Presumably the addressee is the Secretary of War, although the letter bears no address.

² Horatio Stark assumed command of Fort Madison in August, 1809, a year after the post was established, and remained until September, 1812. He entered the Army as an ensign in 1799, and at the time of his transfer to Fort Madison was in command of Cantonment Columbian Springs on the lower Mississippi. The charge that he treated British traders "with servile attention" is too strong, although he was friendly with many of them. But soon after his arrival at Fort Madison he seized the merchandise of Jacques Porlier, Josiah Bleakely, and Edward Lagoterie, because those men were commonly suspected of promoting an attempted Indian attack on the gar-

archy would suit the *American people best!!!* A fine principle for an Officer of the *United States Army*. He loves the *British Traders* — treats them with servile attention, when the *Americans* scarcely meet with common politeness! He is in a few days going to recommend a *Monsr. Julien*³ a *Frenchman* & *British Trader* as a sutler to the troops at *Fort Madison!!* Well done — two good *Americans* met with a refusal. A present of a Keg of rum, some shrub, a new Coat &c. &c. &c. are great temptations — surely no honest man could refuse them. The Cat tho is now out of the bag.

Mr. George Hunt⁴ a son of a good old *revolutionary Officer* is to be dismissed on the last day of October — *bon pas de Frenchman*, he comes in for snacks.⁵

A Mr. Dixon⁶ also a *British Trader*, had a daughter died here (half squaw) the honest Captain had her decently interred — a nice headstone

ison. Then Stark wrote to his superior, Col. Daniel Bissell: "Should those persons still have any sinister designs against the United States the means of future mischief is thus withheld from them until they can clear up their characters." Later Stark was ordered to release the goods, and an apology was made to the traders. (Stark to Bissell, Oct. 4, 1809, and Bissell to Stark, Oct. 25, 1809, Record Group 107, National Archives; Frederick Bates to Porlier and Bleakely, Bates letterbook, Missouri Historical Society.)

³ Denis Julien had settled in 1805 on the east bank of the Mississippi near present Nauvoo, Illinois, and had been engaged in the Indian trade for many years. He performed duties for hire at the fort, but there is no indication that he was a sutler. (For details of his residence, see his quit claim deed of April 28, 1819, Records of Madison County, Ill., Book W, p. 83.)

⁴ Hunt was a son of Col. Thomas Hunt, former commander of the First Infantry Regiment. He became sutler at Fort Madison soon after its establishment and served the troops there until the fall of 1811. He then took an assortment of trade goods up-river to the lead mines below Dubuque, where he bartered for lead and furs until driven away by the Winnebagoes in January, 1812. (His own account, written many years later, is divided: one portion is in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 8:662-9 (1885); and another portion in *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 11:517-25 (October, 1913).

⁵ That is, the Frenchman comes in for his share.

⁶ Robert Dickson's apparent friendship for the United States was unmasked later during the War of 1812, when he helped to arouse the Indians to fight on the British side. But in 1811 he was still on good terms with the Americans along the river. Stark wrote to Col. Jacob Kingsbury, in Detroit, on June 20, 1810: "Should Mr. Dickson visit your part of the Country you will confer a great obligation on me by shewing him such attention as in your Power. You will find him in all things Honorable & intelligent and very Much of the Gentleman." (Kingsbury papers, Detroit Public Library.) The death of Dickson's daughter at Fort Madison is not mentioned in any other extant document.

cut, grownd and lettered, to perpetuate her memory, besides hansomely inclosing the grave with pailings — all done by the labor of the Soldiers, which is all nothing but correct in a morrel point of view — but hear more, the honest Soldiers who had *died* at the same post, their graves are left exposed to be distroy'd by Hogs, Cattle & Horses, no *headstone* or any thing to mark the traces of their buddies!⁷ Excellent captain, noble Sir, his Soldiers love him no doubt. 25 men discharged during the summer — only drunken vagabonds reinlist at the post.⁸ This Mr. Dixon frequently makes the honest Captain a present of a Keg of *rum*.

The Captain being asked one day why the British Traders alone made him those presents: he answered, that "it was a *national pride* they possessed such as the Americans never would have — as to his part he always thought they wanted principle to make them as [one word illegible] as the Europeans were" — this I heard myself.

The Garrison looks as if it was ready to be given up at the first Summons. No fixed ammunition⁹ — no appointed places for her Officers and

⁷ Men known to have died at the fort before this letter was written include Private John King, described in the muster rolls as suffering from "age and general debility," and Privates Daniel O'Flanagan, James Moore, and Nicholas Tracy. Private Jacob Clinger, listed on the rolls as a "maniac" in confinement for murder and desertion, is not mentioned after June 30, 1809, and is presumed to have died at the fort. (Muster, pay, and recruiting rolls, 1st Infantry Regiment, 1802-1811, Record Group 94, National Archives.)

⁸ In the spring of 1811, Stark felt sure that at least fifty of his men would re-enlist within the year, particularly if the War Department would let him sign up a few chronic drunkards. The Adjutant-General replied that he could have a little latitude in this regard. But by October 1 he was discouraged by the slowness of re-enlistments, and told the Adjutant-General: "This Country has been most unusually Sickly which has occasioned a considerable depression of spirits; but I hope so soon as this scourge leaves us to be as successful as heretofore." (Stark to the Adjutant-General, May 31 and Oct. 1, 1811, and Adjutant-General to Stark, June 13, 1811, Record Group 94, National Archives.) Perhaps one reason for Stark's failure as a recruiter was his reputation as a harsh officer. Before coming to Fort Madison he had been court-martialed and reprimanded for cruelly beating a soldier. During his tour of duty at Fort Madison his surgeon's mate, Dr. Robert Simpson, attempted to have him tried again for cruelty. On one occasion, when Stark was on temporary duty at Fort Belle Fontaine near St. Louis, he sentenced a mutinous soldier to receive fifty strokes with a wire-tipped lash on two successive days, and an extra twenty-five strokes for insolence. By this time, flogging had been outlawed in the Army. (For Stark's trial and reprimand, see Cantonment Columbian Springs order book, Vol. 115, Record Group 94, National Archives.)

⁹ By fixed ammunition he means fused, hollow shells for the six-pounders, as distinct from grape shot or solid balls.

Soldiers in case of an alarm! One six pounder remains in a remote part of the Garrison & can be taken possession of at any time by an enemy! No notice is taken of it.

The Garrison is in such a rascally situation and so badly calculated for defence, that at least 300 men could be hidden around it and could not be hurt by either Cannon or small arms.¹⁰ He is [one word illegible] beyond expression to the *Government*, and plans everything in his power to make it disrespected. He lays even his own neglect to the want of capacity in the Government. He has been 2 years at the post in August last and has not as much as put his Company thru the *Manual exercise*!!¹¹

There is 1290 feet of the Garrison to be defended, and at present but 50 men to do it—which makes $64\frac{1}{2}$ feet for each man. It can be so contracted as to measure but 332 feet which, by the same rule would require but $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet pr. man, and would gain 3 out of 4, which would still be too much for that number to defend.¹²

This reduction could be made and not cost the United States \$25 besides quarters sufficient for the accomodation of one hundred Soldiers and the equivalent of officers! Astonishing it may seem indeed. This rascally Captain should never be suffered to Command but directly under the eye of his superiors. All this is true, believe me tho you do not know my *name*, yet you receive facts, which I call *God* to man to witness.

Send him to where he can be better attended to, and give the command to Lieut. Thos. Hamilton¹³ for but 2 or 3 months with order to new *Model* it—if he does not meet with your expectations; I will come for-

¹⁰ The fort was unfortunately located with a ravine on one side and a hill in the rear, and Indians often concealed themselves in these positions to fire upon the garrison. The site had been chosen by Stark's predecessor, Lt. Alpha Kingsley.

¹¹ Unlikely, since Stark was himself writing a drill manual while at Fort Madison which he described as an improvement on the standard manual of Von Steuben. (Stark to the Adjutant-General, Dec. 20, 1814, Record Group 94, National Archives; and Stark to Kingsbury, June 11, 1815, Kingsbury Papers.)

¹² The arithmetic is poor, but the proposal was one that many people, including Colonel Bissell, considered sound. Bissell urged Stark to eliminate the "tail," which was a long, fortified passage leading to a blockhouse on the hill behind the fort. Stark declined, since the blockhouse was essential to the defense of the fort, but there are indications that he later did so. (Bissell to Secretary of War, Jan. 20 and Sept. 26, 1812, Record Group 107, National Archives.)

¹³ Commander of Fort Madison after Stark's ill health forced him to ask for a transfer. Hamilton was in command during the most strenuous fighting, and supervised the abandonment of the fort in the fall of 1813.

ward, and acknowledge myself the greatest *liar* in the United States, for I Know him to be a man of genius and enterprise. After that is done, send who you please to command. It is not every man who can command, that can build. Not a Lock for the Garrison Gates — that would be too much expence, still it is not so great as to purchase \$50 worth of Iron Locks for the Officers quarters, tho there is no window shutters to either of them — pretty defence. There is a number of other things that are worse than they could be represented.¹⁴

A Democrat.

¹⁴ Some support is given these various charges by Dr. Simpson's allegations and by Bissell's comment to the Secretary of War in his letter of Jan. 20, 1812: "Captain Owens when he returned from Fort Madison, in Octr. last . . . informed me that the Post appeared in Good Repair, and Judiciously Commanded, and that the Troops looked Extreemly well, yet from Doctor Simpson's known worth as an officer and his Veracity as a Gentleman, I cannot doubt there may be a Relaxation of Duty and Some want of Propriety in Capt. Starke's Conduct. . . ."

DOCUMENT
IOWA FARM LETTERS, 1856-1865
*Edited by Mildred Throne**

The financial depression which began in the East in the fall of 1857 struck the Iowa frontier during 1858. Hardly had the farmers recovered from this setback when the first years of the Civil War brought renewed hardships. The following two groups of letters, written by tenant farmers in Jones and Delaware counties, illustrate what the Panic of 1857 and the Civil War meant to the small farmer of the West.

One group of letters, loaned to the Society by Miss Alice M. Jordan of Beeville, Texas, were written by Miss Jordan's great-grandfather, Ephraim Gard Fairchild when, as a young man with a small family, he moved to Jones County, Iowa, from New Jersey. The other group, written by John Kenyon and his wife, Sarah (and a few by Sarah's sister, Mary Ellis), to their relatives in Rhode Island, describes the life of a farmer in Delaware County, Iowa, his work, his illnesses and remedies, and his financial difficulties both in the panic years and during the Civil War. The letters cover almost the same years: the Fairchild letters, 1857-1858; the Kenyon letters, 1856-1865. Neither family had sufficient funds to buy land; both men were tenant farmers during the years covered by the letters.

Delaware and Jones counties are contiguous, lying in the second tier west of the Mississippi River in north-central Iowa. Both had been open for settlement for some twenty years, so that land prices were fairly high compared with the frontier lands farther west. In Jones County the average price of land was \$11.00 per acre in 1860; in Delaware County, not so thickly settled, farms had an average value of \$7.00 per acre in 1860.¹

The Fairchild and Kenyon families both had relatives already living in

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¹*Iowa Comparative Census, 1836-1880* (Des Moines, 1883), 267, 271. Jones County, with a total acreage of 364,160 acres, had 228,082 acres in 1,438 farms in 1860; Delaware County, with 365,440 total acreage, had 156,460 acres in 1,262 farms. *Ibid.*, 245; *Soil Survey of Iowa, Report No. 56: Delaware County; Report No. 57: Jones County* (Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, Ames, Iowa, May, 1929).

these counties, relatives who would help them get a start. John Kenyon lived with his father-in-law, Richard Ellis, who owned 87 acres of land in Oneida Township, Delaware County. Ephraim G. Fairchild's uncle, Jeremiah Gard, who owned 120 acres in Wyoming Township, Jones County, had evidently provided for his nephew before he moved west, since Fairchild became a tenant farmer for Oliver I. Bill as soon as he reached Jones County.²

The letters are here reproduced exactly as written, except that periods have been used to indicate the ends of sentences. The letters have also been paragraphed where possible. Letter-writers in the mid-nineteenth century used little punctuation or paragraphing, thus often making reading and comprehension difficult. All the Fairchild letters were written by Ephraim and were sent to his parents in New Jersey. The Kenyon letters, written by both John and his wife, Sarah, were addressed either to John's mother or to his sister and her husband in Rhode Island.

LETTERS OF EPHRAIM G. FAIRCHILD, 1856-1858

Pleasant Ridge³ March 23 1857

Ever Kind and affectionate Father and Mother and all the rest of the friends. I take my pen in hand to write a few lines to you to let you know that we are all well at present and hope these few lines may find you all the same.

I will try to tell you some thing aboute our journey oute west. we had a very slow trip. the carrs run verry slow all the way from Jersey City up to Dunkirk so we did not make connection with the train from their and had to stop there from 2 oclock in the afternoon untill 2 1/2 oclock wednesday morning. then we Started for cleveland and arrived there aboute noon

² Information on these families was obtained from the federal population and agricultural censuses for 1860. The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, has copies of the agricultural census books in manuscript, and microfilms of the population censuses. Ephraim Fairchild, in 1860, was 32 years old, his wife Eliza 32, and they had four children, two girls aged 10 and 8, and two boys aged 5 and 3. John Kenyon, in 1860, was 34, his wife Sarah, 31; they had three children, two girls aged 10 and 2, and one boy aged 6.

³ Pleasant Ridge is an area in the center of Wyoming Township. A "mushroom" town named Pleasant Ridge grew up there during the building of the railroad through the county, but it soon disappeared. *History of Jones County, Iowa . . .* (Chicago, 1879), 495.

and missed the train there again. we had to stay there till about 4 o'clock in the evening. then we started for Toledo and there we made connection with the train going to Chicago and there we had to stop about 4 or 5 hours longer. then we started about 9 in the evening for Dunleath.⁴ we arrived there about 9 or 10 on Friday morning and there we met Uncle Jerry. he started from home on Wednesday and arrived at Dubuque on Thursday and on Friday we crossed the Mississippi on the ice with the horses and wagon. then we started for Uncle Jerrie's.

we got as far as the 11 mile [sic. mile] house. then we put up and in the morning we started again and went about 1 mile and broke the arm of the axle tree. then we was in a fix. no house nearer than a mile but Eliza⁵ and the children got out of the wagon and went on to the 12 mile house ahead and Uncle and I unloaded the things into another wagon and fixed up the wagon so as to get to the 12 mile house and there was a blacksmith shop and the smith thought he could fix it. so he went at it as soon as he could and when he got it fixed it was about 2 or 3 o'clock. then we started again and traveled on until night. then we put up at Ozark with a man by the name of E. West. they were very nice people. the next morning which was Sunday morning it thundered and lightened and rained quite hard until about 9 o'clock. then it stopped and about 10 Uncle said he thought we had better start before the river at Canton⁶ got so high that it would be dangerous. so we started and got across the river safe and went on home. we got to Uncle's about 4 o'clock Sunday afternoon all safe and sound but mudier going I never saw in my life.

I shot a partridge chicken out of the back window this morning. I have seen a good many of them. there was as much as 25 or 30 in the flock when I shot that one. we saw hundreds of ducks Sunday when we were coming. . . .

Wyoming April the 9 1857

. . . yesterday morning when I got up . . . Uncle Jerry was going off after a load of hay and asked me to go along with him. so I thought I

⁴ Dunleith, Illinois, the original name for present-day East Dubuque.

⁵ Eliza Fairchild, wife of Ephraim.

⁶ Ozark was in Brandon Township, Jackson County. Canton, on both sides of the Maquoketa River, was in both Brandon Township, Jackson County, and Clay Township, Jones County.

would go as I was not doing any thing for the spring is so backward out hear that we have not done anny thing yet toward farming and there does not appear to be anny thing else to doe at presant. I was going to plowing last monday but the ground was so frosen that i did not go at it. that was town election day and Tuesday it snowd quite hard the most of the day. yesterday morning there was quite a tracing [of] snow but it was all gon before night. . . .

we started off after hay. we went down to bear crick and crossed it on the big pararie to a man by the name of Blabers but he had soled all of his hay so we turned round and went out to Wyoming. there we stopped at the post office. . . . then we went on up toward Matison [*sic.* Madison] over hill and dale through mud and mire about five mildes to a man by the name of Old Tom Bender as he called him self. there we found some hay for \$8 pur tun so we got a good load and as much as the oxen could eat and dinner for three of us for four dollars. we got loaded up and readdy to start about four oclock. then we had about 7 mildes to drive the nearest way we could come so we started and found a verry good road the most of the wa[y] home. we got home about eight oclock in the evening and all most bushed. . . .

on the 28 day of March the next saturday after we arrived here Mr. Oliver Bills the man that I was going to farm for had a raising to put up the house for me to live in and invited Uncle Jerry and the boys and me to come over and help. so we went over in the morning and before we got over my hed began to ache and continued to ache all the fournoon and I felt quite chilly. so I went home before the house was up. . . .

I like the looks of this part of the west verry well. i think that I can plow and harrow out hear without being nocked and jerked about with the stones as I allways have ben in Jersey. I think if Father and Mother and the rest of the family was out here I should have no desire ever to return to Jersey again. but they are not out here nor I dont expect they ever will all be out here but I think if they was out here they would make a living easier than they can in Jersey. . . .

our box has not come yet that we have heard of. our house is within 100 yds of the school house but there is no school there and I dont know as there will be this sumer. . . .

Wyoming Sunday April 26th 1857

. . . I believe I toled you about how we got along from Dubuque to Uncle Jerries but did not tell you how much it cost me. \$14,75 cts just for our Selves for Uncle did not charg anny thing for his time nor for his expences. I had to pay \$5, for the horses and wagon and pay for their feed besides and \$1, doller for mending the wagon which with our bord and lodging all together made \$14,75 I believe. well then I sent down for my box. Henry Bill Mr. Olliver Bill[s] sun went down after it and I worked for Mr Bill in henries place while he was gon. he was gon three days and Mr Bill charged me three dollars for the use of the team. the Bill for the box at Dubuque was \$30,5 cts. the box cost me all the way from Dover hear \$34,92 cts besides the time I worked for Mr Bill 4,30.

we unpacked the box last Monday the 20. we found every thing in good order except some rice that was all through the box and the peper that was in the banbox with the hats was all spilt and my fether bed was naled fast to the bed of the box and we tore it some gitting the bed of[f]. every thing else was in good order I believe.

I have bought a stove. it is the same fashion of Fathers. I got it in Wyoming. it cost me \$24, besides the pipe and the pipe cost me \$1,87 cts. I got 2 iron boilers 1 tin wash boiler 1 tin tea kittle 1 skillet 1 gridiron 1 tin teapot and a large griddle. I bought 91 lbs of wheat flour at 20/⁷ pur hundred one smoked shoulder at 1/ pur lb some pickeled pork at 10 cts pur lb some eggs at 10 cts a doz one bottle of pepper sauce for 25 cts one peck salt at 1/ pur bushel 1/4 tea at 75 cts pur lb.

I pulled the box in pieces and then I went at it and plained it up and made a table of part of the bords and a cupboard of the rest. I made the cupboard the same length and the same width of the box and about 18 inches deep and made Eliza a foot bench and two milk beds out of the scraps. I made a trundle bed sted while we was at Uncle Jeries and put rolers under it.

We have got to keeping house once more. our house stands within about 4 rods of Mr Bill house and about 8 rods from the stable and in the

⁷ This symbol probably means "shilling," a term which Fairchild uses frequently. Until 1857 foreign coins circulated in the United States, and the term "bit" or "shilling" was used to refer to the Mexican *real*, which had a value of about 12½ cents. See *Catalogue of Coins, Tokens, and Medals* . . . (Washington, 1914), 7; Allie M. Lett, "The Search for a Shiling, A True Story of Territorial Days in Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* (3rd ser.), 1:40 (April, 1893).

same field where I am farming. Mr Bill and his wife appear like verry nice people. we moved day before yesterday. Mrs Bill has ben in twice and Mr Bill has ben in 3 or 4 times. they fetched in some tea milk and today just before we sat down to dinner Mr Bill came in with a bowl full of green corn. so I guess we are a hed of you yet. we had some boiled beanes and some short cake and some stewd apples with the corn and it was so good that we all ate untill we liked to hurt ourselves.

I commenced plowing yesterday for wheat but the ground was frozen quite hard in some places. we have had a verry cold and backward Spring. there has been severel snow storms since we came out hear. a week ago last Friday night it snowd quite hard and on saturday morning the snow was good shoe deep and did not all go off until sunday. some of the men that had their ground plowd last fall has got their wheat sowl. . . .

A great bargon. Mr Griffin the man that ones [owns] that good Spring and 160 acres of land 5 or 6 acres broke and plenty of timber on it will sell the hull lot for \$1000 one thousand dollars. . . .

Wednesday the 29 . . . I have ben plowing $2\frac{1}{2}$ days this week and one last and have got about 7 acres plowd. you said Mother wanted to know how manny times I had ben to church. the first sunday I was sick. the next sunday I went to meeting and we had a verry good sermond and I have ben two sundays since but the minister did not come and last sunday there was no meeting. . . . you said two that Mother wanted to know how my money holds out. well it is getting low. I believe I have got \$31,86 cts. I have not got anny cow yet nor hog but I have bargoned for a hog. it will weigh 100 lbs or more. the price of it is \$4. I bargoned for it with Mr Gardenor or Jesse and I partly bargoned with Mr Bill for a cow but his wife found it out and she would not concent to let her go. I was to have her for \$30, and \$15, dollars down. . . .

Wyoming May 17th 1857

. . . you said you wanted to know how we liked this part of the Country. well for my part I think I like it a good deal better than I did Birkshire Valley. it is so much easier tilling the ground here than it is there and I believe Eliza likes it as well and the children appear to be verry well sattisfied. . . .

Well I will tell you how I are getting along with my work. I have sowl seventeen bushels of wheat and seven bushels of oats and are a going to

plant about ten acres with corn. I have got my corn ground furrowd one way and part the other way and that planted. I had Uncle Jerreys three youngest boys yesterday after noon to help me plant and we got a nice piece planted. I have got about one acre to plant with potatoes that is plowd. I have not planted much garden yet. I have got about a peck of potatoes planted and some onion seeds planted. I bought one bushel of potatoes the other day of Mr Hamilton and paid 75 cts for them and I bought two bushels of wheat of Mr Sudley Bill a few days ago for 75 cts per bushel and before I got it away wheat came up to \$1, per bushel so I have had some good luck since we came out here. I dont know how much flour is worth now. I was over to town the other day and they said that wheat was coming up so I got one hundred of first rate flour for twenty shillings for fear it would be higher. I have got my hog home and he is a nice one. I feed him three pints of wheat a day.

Uncle Jerry is farming quite strong this sumer. he has sowd thirty eight bushels of wheat and two bushels of oats and is a going to plant twenty or twenty five acres with corn. he is going to run a breaking team this sumer. . . .

I think I shall want what money I have got to live on untill I can rase some thing. I was offered a lot of land the other day about 20 acres for \$10, per acre on trust. it lays right acrost the rail road⁸ from the school house about half a mile from Uncle Jeries and I want Fathers advice about it. it belongs to Mr Sudley Bill a piece that the railroad cuts off from his farm. . . .

I have finished planting my corn and potatoes. I planted about 4½ bushels of potatoes. . . . we had a misionary here to dinner today and Uncle Jerry two. he is around hunting up all the presbyteriens he can find and is going to organize a presbyterian church in Wyoming tomorrow.⁹ . . .

Pleasant Ridge June the 14 1857

. . . you said in your letter that Mother wants to know whether I think

⁸ This was probably the roadbed for the projected Iowa Central Air Line RR, which was never built under that name. After several changes in name, the road eventually became a part of the North Western system.

⁹ This was the Rev. George E. Delavan of Maquoketa, who, on May 17, 1857, helped organize a Presbyterian church in Wyoming Township. One of the men signing the articles of incorporation for the church was Fairchild's uncle, Jeremiah Gard. *History of Jones County*, 498-9.

I can make a better living here than I did in Jersey or not. Well Mother that is a hard question for me to answer yet for a sertenty for I cannot tell about it untill fall when I get my crops gatherd but one thing is certain I dont have to work as hard here as I did in Jersey to get in my crops. my wheat looks first rate. It is up about half leg hy and looks black and rank and is growing very fast. as for my corn I cannot tell much about it yet for it has been a verry poor spring for corn here so far. in the first place there was a failier in the seed and I had my corn all to plant over again. then the squirrels commenced digging it up in a few days after I got it planted and they kept at it quite strong and I tried to ketch them at it but they was to[o] cunning for me for some days but at last I found them out last tuesday. I went into the cornfield and shot six throught [sic] the day and wednesday I shot one and one on Thursday and two on Friday and yesterday I went down to the field but could not see anny so I think they are getting scarce. well I have just bin down to the edge of the corn and it has grown quite smart since I saw it yesterday. . . . I am going to commence plowing my corn tomorrow if all is well and it does not rain. my potatoes is just coming up. the oats looks nice but they dont interrest me as much as the rest of the crops for I dont have any of them. I have just as much ground with wheat as I put in with oats. oats is not as profitable to rase here as wheat so I take my share of the oats in wheat. . . .

the rise [sic. price] of land here is more than 4 times as much as it is out in Jersey. unboken prairie is now worth \$10, pur acre. . . .

We had a presbyterian church organized in Wyoming 3 weeks ago today. there was 4 or 5 taken into the church by letter and there is severel more that will join as soon as they get their letters. Uncle Jeremiah and Joseph Bryan was chosen as deacons. next sunday will be communion. . . .

Wyoming June 28th 1857

. . . Eliza is as well as can be expected. we have got a fine little boy. it was born on the 19 of this month. one weak ago last friday morning. it weighed ten and a quarter lbs. Eliza has been smarter than common except two light chills. she sets up some in the bed and gets up every day and has her bed made. the children is all well and enjoy themselves here first rate. the girls go to school every day. . . .

July 1 1857

. . . Eliza has mised her chill. she has not had any since sunday. the

baby does appear well now and grows nicely. we have Eunice Crowe to work for us. . . .

I have got my corn plowed through once and you had better believe there is plenty of weeds in it. I was thinking of going at it the other way this afternoon. the corn looks quite well out here now. some of it is about nee hie. there is a good deal of ground lying idle in this part of the country that was planted with corn and did not come up. Mr Prat planted about 70 acres and has not got any. . . .

Uncle says if he was in my place he would not buy that land now for he thinks when the railroad fever dies away land will be cheaper than it is now. . . .

I have not had a taste of fresh fish since we came out here. we talked some of going to the wapsay [Wapsipinicon River] a fishing but we did not get off and now I am so busey that I cannot go. I bought one salt codfish since we have ben out here and paid $8\frac{3}{4}$ cts pur lb for it and they ask 10 cts pur lb for them at the stores. . . .

Wheat looks first rate here this sumer. my wheat is now almost up to my hips and is not hedded out yet but I think it will soon be for I saw two heads out in sight this morning. I think I will have 150 or 200 bushels of wheat to my part if it keeps on doing as well as it is doing now but I may be mistaken in my calculations. . . .

I was to two raisens last weak. one to Mr. Johnsons and the other to Mr. Hammeltons. both were dwelling houses. . . .

Wyoming July 25 1857

. . . I have had to work verry hard this weak. I have ben plowing my corn for the last time and plowed and hoed out my potatoes for the last time. I was three days hoeing and pulling out the weeds out of my potatoes. I finished it last night. this morning I sowed my turnips in the corn and I thought I had done a nuff for one weak so I sat down to talk a few moments with old friends in Jersey by the way of pen and ink and paper.

Eliza does not get very strong yet but she is gaining strength now quite fast. she does not doe her work yet. Eunice staid here four weeks then she went to a nother place and we got Martha Cady one of our neighbours girles. she has ben here most a weak. the children is all well and hady [sic. hardy] as pigs and as saucy as ever. . . .

Mother wants to know what kind of a house we live in. well I will tell you something about it. it is a log house and quite rough at that but it

makes a shelter and does very well for a summer house. the room is not very larg but it does quite well for us for we have but little to put in it but we live in hopse of having some thing more some of these days.

our crops looks first rate at present. the wheat will be ripe about the first of weak after next or the third of aug. Mr Bill thinks it will yield about 30 bushels to the acre. if it does I shall have some to sell to get a cow with. . . . Oh how I wish Henry was out here now to help me gather my harvist for it is going to be a tite rub out here in harvist. . . .

it was quite backward here in the fore part of the season but it is not sowe now. we have not had much rain here for four or five weaks and the ground is getting verry dry but vegetation does not appear to suffer much yet. my corn grows very fast. some of it is higher than my hed now and does not show the tosel much yet. our garden looks first rate. we have had three good messes of beans and have had as many onions as we wanted but I am afraid we shall loose them for the gofers has got to work in them.

Pleasant Ridge Aug 9, 1857

. . . yesterday . . . I went into the harvist field and worked hard all day cradeling and binding. I put up 22 dozen shieves and was quite tierd at knight. I have got up 125 dozen shieves and have got more than 4 acres cut yet but the rest of it is not so heavy. last weak I went over towards the Scotch Grove Prairie about 4 miles from home to help Mr Carpenter one of Mr Bills brother in laws in his harvist and staid there 3 days. then this last week on tuesday he came to return the work and he worked 3 days and I worked 2 days while he was here and then worked yesterday. it is quite a ketchey time for harvist. it has rained more or less for the last two weeks. . . .

well Ed I wish you was out here now to help me in my harvist. I would put you through like Sixty and keep you on wheat bred and butter pork and potatoes and such lite diet. then after we got through harvist we wold take Some of the Prairie chickens and maby we would go to the wapeypinican and take some of them big fish that lives there.

I have got 9 or 10 acres of wheat and Oats to harvist yet and dont now as I Shall have any help for I have no money to pay for help and there is so much harvisting to do that hands are very scarce and wajes very high. it is from \$1,50 to \$2,00 pur day and found. . . .

Well my onions looks very well. some of them has got bottoms as larg as the bottom of a good sised tea cup but the gofers are at work in them

but he workes it to keep under ground all of the time and pulls them down into his holes but I think he will have to work Sharp if he gets his half of them for I think we get more of them than he does. . . .

we dont have any sunday school here this summer nearer than Wyoming but we have meeting here in the school house quite regular this summer. Sometimes it is free will baptists and sometimes presbyterien. Mr. Delevan the Presbyterian minister preaches for us in the school house and over to town every 2 weeks. to day was his turn and I staid at home and kept the children and let Eliza go for she had not ben to meeting before since we came from Birkshire. . . .

Aug 14, 1857

Friday morning well I thought I would set down this morning and write a little more as I have not had any chance to mail my letter yet. it has been good wether all this week except a little Shower on Monday untill this morning it has rained very steddy and looks as likely to rain on all day. I have been a putting in the best of likes all this week in my wheat. Monday I worked all alone and on Tuesday morning I had 3 hands come on to help me. well we went into it and worked on untill noon then one of them went off and then one of the others went of[f] about 3 oclock and the other went off about 5. so I was left all alone before night. the 3 made out 2 days work. then I worked alone again wednesday and Thursday four noon. then Uncle sent Dick to help me in the after noon. well I have got my wheat all done except about one acre. my oats is plenty ripe enough to cut so I shant have rest yet for I shall have to go right into my oats as soon as I get through with my wheat. well I Shall have to Stop riting for it has stoped raining and I must go over to Uncles and grind my cradle scythe. . . .

Eliza wants me to tell you about the churns that they use out here. the largest are about 5 gallons and from that down to two quarts. I saw one the other day about as larg as that jar that I gave P J. Mrs Bill fetched over a hull churning of butter milk one day in a pint cup and it was not full. their churns are mostly stone and you would laugh to see them churn. they set down and take their churn in their lap and churn away. . . .

Pleasant Ridge Aug 30 1857

. . . We have had a good deal of wet wether here to[o] as well as you have in Jersey and it has put harvist back very much but I think if it keeps good wether a few days longer the most of the grain will be secured.

some have got all through and others are mostly through. I have got two or three days work to do yet at the oats and a little over six hundred shieves of wheat to draw and stack yet and have got twenty seven hundred shieves now in stack. Mr Chs Gardener has got his a most [sic. almost] thrashed. the wheat crops did not take much damage by the wet weather. corn looks first rate out here now only it is rather late. it is so wet and cool that it does not ripen very fast. our potatoes look first rate. Father spoke about his onions looking nice. well I have got some nearly as large as the top of a tea saucer I was going to say but I think I was going to stretch it to much. but without stretching it at all they are as large as the top of a tea cup. and we have got plenty of cucumbers. we have got a common fish tub all most full of pickles laid down now and the vines are fresh and bare good yet. I had to pay 50 cts for the tub. all barrel kind is very high out here. a new pork barrel costs about 14 shillings. our mellons look first rate but they do not get ripe yet. we have got a nice lot of pole beans and they are as full as they can stick and begin to get big enough to eat. . . .

Sept. 6

Well I thought when I commenced this letter I should have it finished and on the way to old Berkshire long before this time but it is very busy times out here yet. I have got my grain all in stack at last and am glad of it I tell you. I was not quite a month at it but it did not lack much of it I tell you. I commenced the 4 of Aug and finished it on the 2 of Sept. Mr C Gardener has got his wheat thrashed and soled. he took 100 bushels down to Canton yesterday and soled it for 60 cts per bushel and some of the merchants down there did not pay but 50 cts. I believe the price of wheat is 65 cts down to the river. oats are selling for 36 cts per bushel here at the rail road and potatoes 36 cts. I am going to help Uncle S Hammeltons boys thrash their grain tomorrow and then they are going to return the work when I thrash my grain. . . .

One thing more. yesterday I got up and went out to my hog pen and found my hog as dead as a hammer. he was sick for 2 or 3 days before he died and I tell you it was quite a loss for me as much as the loss of 8 or 10 dollars. . . .

Sept 10

Kind friends I thought I would write a few lines more this evening as I have a chance to send over to the post office. . . . I have been helping

Arthur and Edward Hammelton at their thrashing. it will take about two days more and we have ben at it two days. I expect to thrash mine next week.

well I expect H Tebos and his family will be about Starting when you receive this or before. but if he is not gon tell him to get some rope or straps and lash up his trunks good for it is a hard place on the cars for trunks. and tell him there will be a man come in the cars before they get to Chicago a check agent and he will take your checks for you and give you cards for them and will take you and your trunks from one depo to the other for 25 cts apiece that is for each ticket and the children goes free and you had better let him doe your business for you for you cannot doe any thing with them in Chicago. he will give you a ticket for your ride and when you get there go out to the runners and ask them which one of them will take you for them tickets and show them the tickets. but be shure and not let them take you a stray nor pull you in two. . . .

well my chance for sending this over to town to night is past so I will write a little more. we thrashed out 534 bushels of oats yesterday and got done before night but to day we have not done as well. we have ben thrashing wheat and broke down before night. . . .

Pleasant Ridge Sunday morning

Oct 11 1857

. . . Mother said she wanted to know how the railroad was gitting a long. well it is all laying still now the hole length of the road and they think it will not open again before spring. they had to stop for the want [of] money.

Well I expect you have heard from Henrys folks by this time for Uncle wrote a letter the day they arived here and mailed it the next day. they got here one week ago last thursday after noon. . . . Henry went to work for Uncle gitting hay and Caleb went to work for Mr Gardener and Will and Eef went to work for Mr Rumery diging potatoes. . . . Henry has bought him a stove. it is a second handed stove. he got it of one of the irish men that lives here on the railroad. he gave \$20 dollars for it. they say it is a first rate stove. they have not got their goods up from the river yet but I believe Henry is going to send for them this week. . . . Henry has had more calls for work aredy than he and his boys can do. this fall he has the offer of corn to husk and potatoes to dig and to help thrash and he has had the offer of from 40 to 60 cords of wood to cut this fall. . . .

Well now I will tell you a little about how I am gitting along with my work. I have not got my grain thrashed out yet but I expect I shall have it thrashed the last of this week or the fore part of next. I have worked $4\frac{1}{2}$ days at thrashing for the neighbours and they are going to help me in return when I thrash. I have plowed $4\frac{1}{2}$ days for Mr Bill and I have got my road tax worked out. my road tax was two days work. my potatoes is fit to dig but I have not dug any of them yet except one bushel to eat. they have not roted much yet but they begin to turn black some. I shall have a nice crop of potatoes if they doe not rot. my corn is not ripe enough to husk yet but it is out of the way of frost. we have not had any frost yet to doe any hurt here on the ridge but in the low ground there has been frost enough to kill the corn. my corn is good. Mr Bill husked out two bushels for his hogs and it took 23 hills for a bushel. my beans is not a going to amount to much. they run too much to vines and did not begin to set untill it was to late for them to get ripe. my onions is a quite size but the most of them has grown to much to tops but we shall [have] plenty for our one [sic. own] use and perhaps a bushel or two to sell. I have got a nice lot of pumpkins this fall and some as large as I ever saw. I have got a lot of butiful turnips some of them nearley as large as a tea saucer. our mellons are all gon now. the best of them was gon when Henrys folks got out here. . . .

we have regular preaching here now. the Reverand Mr Delevan has moved up to Wyoming and preaches every Sunday in town and every two weeks here in the red school house and every two weeks over north west in Mr Pauls neighbourhood. so we have regular preaching both in town and in the neighbouring school districts and have no excuse for not attending public worship when health and wether permits. . . .

Pleasant Ridge, Nov 16th 1857

. . . there is thousands of prairie chickens oute here and lots of rabbits. Henry and some of the boys went out the other day a hunting and they caught 15 rabbits and 2 chickens. . . .

Sunday 22

. . . Mr Delevan preached to day. last Sunday we had a United Bretheran to preach for us. he preached a very smart sermon. . . .

It has been quite cold wether out here for the last two weeks. we have had 3 or 4 little snows and today it commenced snowing about 10 oclock and has snowed very studdy ever since. it is now 7 or 8 oclock and it

snows yet. it acts very much as if it was a going to bee quite a snow but I hope it will not for there is a good deal of corn to husk yet. I have not got half done husking yet. I have husked about 380 bushels of ears and have got near 500 to husk yet. Uncle has not got near done husking yet. he has got two thirds of 10 or 11 acres to husk but I should not bee surprised if our corn had to lay out in the field through the winter but if it does it will make good picking for the Prairie chickens. . . .

I went out the other day to see if I could find me a cow. I partly bargoned for one but I have not been after her yet. the price was 25 dollars and I was to pay for her in wheat and corn at 50 cts for wheat and 20 cts for corn. I think I shall go after her tomorrow if it is not wether to work at the corn. . . .

Dec 6th 1857

. . . now I will tell you a little about my farming in the Garden of the world. I sowed about 10 acres of wheat and had 212 bushels and about $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres of oats and had 149 bushels. I planted about $4\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of potatoes and dug about $117\frac{1}{2}$ bushels. I planted about 10 acres with corn and have husked 660 bushels and have got about 150 or 160 bushels picked and throwed in a pile with the husks on. I shall have 800 or a little more bushels of corn this year but it is not hardley worth cartting off at present. it is selling for from 15 to 30 cts per bushel and wheat is very low to now. all kinds of produce is down very low and money is very scarce. but we must try to git along without much money. I have not had but 25 cts in money yet for all the work that I have done in Iowa. I have paid for my thrashing in wheat. it took 30 bushels and I have got a cow and paid 30 bushels of wheat on her at 50 cts pur bushel and have to pay 50 bushels of shelled corn yet at 20 cts pur bushel making \$25 dollars for the cow. the cow appears like a verry good cow. she gives about four quarts of milk a day. we churned yesterday afternoon and got two lbs of butter and now we have got butter to eate of our own manufacturing and it appears a little more like living. we have plenty of beaf this fall. I have taken beaf for butchering. one man gave me 24 lbs for helping him butcher one beaf. . . .

Tuesday evening 8th

All well this evening except Eliza and she is almost sick with her teeth and ears. It is very disagreeable wether here now. we had 2 or 3 weeks in Nov that felt very much like winter. it snowed and blowed and frose at a

round rate. it frose my ink all to death in the cubbord but about the first of this month it moderated and the snow all went off and it was muddy I tell you and since then have had all kinds of wether. sometimes it raines and sometimes it snows and blows but the most of the time it raines and is very muddy. . . .

Dec the 20 1857

. . . Well I have got my corn all husked out and cribbed up. my hull crop was 813 bushels. my share is 406½ bushels of ears. I have got my farming work all fininished up now but I am some in debt for hired help yet. . . . we see the Prairie fires burning around some this winter. there is two or three fires to knight but they are at a quite a distance. there is lots of chickens around here now but I dont get time yet to go out after them but I think I shall have to take time before long and go out and see if I can catch some of them. we begin to get chicking hungry and as we have no tame ones I must try to get some of the wild ones.

One thing I must tell you about. I have shot one thing out here that I never shot before. that was a fat hog. they doe not chase their hogs here to ketch them when they want to kill them. they take their gun and go to their pen and shoot them down. I have shot six beaves and one hog this fall. I have helped dress eleven beaves and two hogs this fall and winter.

I must tell you about our flower. we have just as good flower as the best superfine genesee New York inspected that you can get in the town of dover and . . . we have as good bread here at our house as ever Mr Youngs of Dover baked in his big oven. . . .

Jan 4th 1858

. . . we have enough to eate and drink and enough to ware and have had enough to doe so far. I have helped to dig one well and have helped to bucher [sic] several hogs since I wrote last. last Friday the first day of the new year I went over to Em Crones and him and his brother in law and my self went out after some Prairie chickens and we hunted through the cornfield and over pararies until dinner time with out any success. then we went to Williams and took dinner. then after dinner we started out again and we soon came a crost a larg flock and I shot at them and made the fether fly some for they carried off the meat further than we could see. then we went on further and found some more and their fethers carried them off fast enough without shooting at for we could not git within two guns shot of them. So we made up our minds that it was of no use. . . .

I have not got but one [hog] to winter and that is not very large but it groes quite Smart and I have got plenty of corn to feed it out for I have not soled any of my corn yet only what I let Mr Van have for my cow and he has not got that away yet. Yesterday he had a constable sale at his house. he was pressed for \$100,00 dollars and could not raise the money so the constable levied on one log wagon worth \$65 or 70 dollars one good old cow one colt 2 year old past worth 90 or 100 dollars and one bull which he had refused 80 dollars for and the lot did not bring onley 103 dollars. Henry Tebo got the colt and cow for the sum of \$63,50. he made a great bargon if he has good luck with them.

Feb the 21 1858

. . . it has been very hard times out here this winter although there is a great abundance of provision and that is cheap and good but money is very scarce and hard to be got. groceries is quite high but not as much so as they have been but they are cash articles. therefore we have to git along with as little as possible. . . . the rail road is laying still yet but there is some talk of its going on this spring and I hope it will for I think it would make the times seem better. there would be a call for flower corn and potatoes and a great many other things. there is a railroad now in progress about twenty miles from here.¹⁰ it is running from Dubuque to Anamosa the County Seat of this County. they think to get it completed by the first or middle of May. . . .

Mar 7 1858

. . . I am preparing to build a Shanty. I am a going to trade my corn for lumber. I get my lumber for \$15, pur thousand and get \$25 pur hundred bushels for my corn delivered at the saw mill. I am a going to build my shanty on Uncles land. yesterday I was getting some logs to the mill. I got the logs of Uncle Jerrey. . . . I am going to have it sawed into sheating to lay the shingles on. . . . if you dont get another letter from me quite as soon as you have been getting them you must not think hard for this letter will take the last stamp that I have got and I have no money at presant. money is very scarce here this winter but I will write as soon as I can. . . .

¹⁰ This was the projected road from Dubuque to Keokuk, to run through Anamosa, Marion, and Iowa City. Because of its twisting route, it was known as the "Ram's Horn." Although the whole project was a failure, the road did reach Anamosa on March 9, 1860. *Ibid.*, 343.

April 11 1858

. . . I am a going to lease a strip from the railroad up to the timber line. I have got my seller part dug and my lumber part carted. I got some logs of Uncle and had them sawed . . . and as for what I am a going to doe this summer is more than I can tell my self as yet. but I think to work on the railroad if it starts and if it does not I shall work for any one that wants work done. I have not taken any farm to work this Summer. the times is so dull here that mechanics are working their farmes themselves this season although there was land enough to let this season to those that have a house and team of their own. but I shall try to doe the best I can. I found some stamps in the letter last evening. it did not say who they was from but they come very acceptable for I have not had any money since I wrote before onley a five cent piece that I found the other day. . . .

May 17th 1858

. . . our cow has come in and done well. we are raising her calf. I intend to make an oxe of it. the calf is three weeks old this morning and we have churned four times from her and got as much as eleven lbs from the four churnings. I think the cow will keep us in butter this Summer and raise her calf and have some milk for the pig and some for the babies. my hog had the misfortune of breaking her shoulder about two weeks ago and I was afraid that I should loose her but she has got partley over it and is doing better now than she ever has done before since I have had her.

I am making very slow progress with my house. every boddy is so busy with their teams that it is impossible for me to get a team to do anything but I think after planting I shall be able to get my lumber and nailes and shingles and put up my house.

it is very hard times oute here yet. it is impossible for any one to get a dollar in money for any thing. grain is not worth carting off to the river. Wheat is only worth from 30 to 40 cts pur bushel around here. I believe it is worth 45 and 50 cts at the river. corn is selling for 15 and 20 cts. potatoes is worth from 10 to 15 cts. butter is 10 cts and 11 pur lb. eggs is 6 cts pur doz. wheat flour is worth at the mills \$1,75 pur hundred. oats is worth about 20 or 25 cts. . . .

June 6 1858

. . . it is the hardist times here that I ever saw before in my life. it is impossible for me to get a cent of money any more. I have not had 25 cts of money since the first of January last and there is nothing that the farm-

ers have that will fetch money nor even groceries. Mr Bill took some butter over to town one day last week and they would not give him but 8 cts pur lb and they would not let him have Shugar for it at that. he had to take a pair of over alls for the butter and borrow some money to get his groceries with. chease is worth but 4 cts pur lb. eggs is worth 5 cts pur dozen. potatoes and corn is worth about 20 cts. wheat from 35 to 40 cts pur bushel.

But we hope that we shall have better times here in less than a year. there is a prospect of the rail roads going on now before long and we have an election this month to vote for and against banks here in this State and I think there will be no danger but what we shall get the banks.¹¹ the banking law is all ready made and I understand they have got the bank notes all ready plated and ready for signing and if they get it they will Soon have their money in circulation. And I think it is time that we had some banks here if we can have good substantial ones for money is so scarce here that some are making money for them selves without a law. there was some fellows taken up yesterday in the town of Monmoth about 5 mildes east of us for passing counterfeit money and one of them they found the dyes with that he made the money in and Six hundred dollars of bogus gold already coined and ready for circulation.

Thursday morning the 10th we have heard something more of the particulars concerning those counterfeiters. they did not find the dyes with them but proved that they had them. there was not quite six hundred dollars of the money but about five hundred and twenty and he had not got it quite redy for circulation for he had not got it galvanized. he had it hid in the woods under a log. it was all in one dollar pieces. there was two of them that they got and they have taken them to jail to await their trial.

Well now I will try to tell you something about the weather here. we had about two weeks of plesant and fine weather in the latter part of March. then it began to be wet and cold and it appears to get worse and worse. it is not quite as cold now as it was in April but it is quite cool for the time of year. I have not saw but one or two persons yet this sumer

¹¹ Banks had been prohibited in Iowa under the 1846 Constitution, but with the passage of the new Constitution in 1857, which provided for banks, the 1858 legislature passed a Free Banking Bill and a State Banking Bill which were submitted to a vote of the people on June 28, 1858. Both bills passed by an overwhelming majority. Howard H. Preston, *History of Banking in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1922), 75, 82, 84.

with thin close on. it will be quite plesant for a day or two at a time then it will cloud up and blow and rain and thunder. we have had more thunder since the first of March than we had last season all together and such heavy rains. why it rains sometimes untill it seames as though it would float the counetry away. it has taken almost every bridge in the country and some of the mill dams. it has taken off L D Brainard's dam at the mill whare Kiney lives and it took off[f] the dam at mill rock where I have had all of my grinding done since I have been oute here and two other damms on the mineral creek was damaged a good deal. one of them was the mill where Henry and me got our lumber and I expect Henry is over there now to work helping repare the dam. the watter cut around in front of the mill and took out all of the logway and some of his logs and about two thousand feet of oak lumber. the roads is washed and damaged a good deal and the corn crops have suffered very much by being washed out and coverd up. but the wheat crops looks fine yet and I hope we shall have a bountifull harvist and a good time to gather it. . . .

I have not got my house up yet nor all of my lumber together yet. it has been such bad going all the Season that I could not get to go after it and I have got disapointed about getting nailes for corn. So I shall have to adjourn building untill I can turn myself some other way and I dont know when that will be. . . .

July 11th 1858

. . . I expect to go into harvist tomorrow. I am a going to help Mr E E Gardner two days then I am going to help Mr W E Cady some. I dont now what wages will be this Season but I dont think it will be as much as it was last Season. I hired Som last Season and had to pay \$1,50 pur day and bord and some charge \$2, pur day.

our wheat and oats crops is not a going to be near as good as they was last Season but the farmers think they will get about a half crop but corn and potatoes looks first rate at presant. I have about 1½ acres planted with corn and potatoes and beanes and some other vegitables and the corn and potatoes and beanes looks first rate and I think the potatoes will come on now. they was planted late and it has been so wet this Season that I could not get them hoed out untill yesterday. I got Some help and dressed them out and they look quite nice but my Sod corn I guess will come out rather slim. the ground was broke very early and it has been so wet that the hasle nut brush and grass and brake has come up so thick that

it has choked the corn but I think the stalks will run up and make some fodder and if corn comes out as good as it bids fare for now there will be plenty of chances to husk on shares. I have had some offers to husk on Shares now.

there is Strong talk of the rail roads going on now. they think it will commence in about two or three weeks.

There was a man along here just now a hunting harvist hands and said he would give 10 and 12 Shilling per day for hands and pay the money and I tell you it was quite an inducement but he lives twelve or fourteen miles from here and Eliza and the baby is so miserable that it is impossible for me to leave home to go so far away. . . .

Aug 8th 1858

. . . The farmers has not got through with their harvist yet. it keeps such wet wether the most of the time that it is a slow job to get the grain gathered and after it is gathered it is not worth but little and Some is not worth gathering at all. I dont think that the wheat and oats crop to take it on an average through Jones County will be more than one forth of a crop.¹² Uncle Jerry sowed fifty bushels of oats and I think it a chance if he gets more than 200 bushels. I have helped him two days. one day I mowed oats and yesterday I helped to draw and Stack. Dan G and Birt took one team and Caleb and myself took another and we drawd and Stacked Thirteen loads a piece and put them all in one Stack and there is as much as twenty loads more to draw and it will take the most of it to top out the Stack that we worked on yesterday. I expect to help draw again tomorrow if it is weather fit to work at it. we want to get Uncles harvist gathered as Soon as we can and then go to gathering hay. there is lots of hay this Season or grass to make hay off. I was over on the big Prairie the other side of the crick last Friday to help a man Stack Some wheat and it looks like a big meadow as far as you can see. the grass up full nee high and as thick as it can Stand on the ground. . . .

Oct 3/58

. . . we have very fine weather here now. it is as nice weather as I ever saw at this time of year. it is very dry and warm. there has not been any frost yet here on the ridge but I believe there has been Some light frosts on

¹² Both the wheat and oats crops were a total failure in Jones County in 1858, due to rust. *Report, Iowa State Agricultural Society . . . 1858* (Des Moines, 1859), 289.

the low grounds. corn has ripened off very nice here this fall. my buck-wheat is ripe and I have got it part out. . . .

Monday morning the 23 . . . it is quite cool this morning for the time of year and I fear there will be a frost before this cool Spell passes over. it has been quite cool for several nights and it appears to keep getting colder every night and if there Should be a frost and cut off the fall crops I dont know what the inhabitants of Jones County and Some other of the adjoining Countys will doe for provision for themselves and family and say nothing about their cattle and hogs for the wheat and oats crops is almost an entire failier and what wheat there is makes people sick to eat it.¹³ there is hundreds yes thousands of acres of wheat and oats to that has not been cut and the news papers gives an account of Several horses that had been turned into the uncut oats which have died by eating the rusted oats. there is no vegitable that has come to maturity yet this Season in this part of the country but what has been blighted. beanes peas cew-cumbers mellons beats onions and all kinds of garden sauce cabbage is not doeing any thing and I dont think that potatoes will be much of a crop and there is Some parts of the country that the corn is entirely cut off by the late hail storms. I was out through a portion of clay township one week ago last Saturday acrost Scotch grove Prairie and into the grove and I tell you it was a desolate looking place. there was hardly a stack of grain to be Seen for Several mildes. the corn was all entirely cut off by hail.

there is some people here that have no grain that are trying to find work where they can get wheat for their work and they can not get it.

they are offering \$1, pur bushel now for old wheat at the mills on the road down towards Dubuque at Canton and Ozark and they are asking \$5, pur barrell for flour at the mills. . . .

LETTERS OF JOHN AND SARAH KENYON, 1856-1865

Aug 29 [1856]

Plum Creek¹⁴

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . Our goods have all arrived. the last that were sent came on the

¹³ This was because of the rust in wheat and oats. See Note 12.

¹⁴ Plum Creek, an affluent of the Maquoketa River, flowed through Delaware County, from southeast to northwest. Evidently the Ellis farm, on which the Kenyons lived, was near the creek.

same time as our others. The stove hearth was broken into and the slide pretty well smashed. we can have the hearth mended I think but the slide is past pancakes. everything else came safe and sound. . . .

Our folks went after plums yesterday and I went a week ago. we travel in ox teams here over the prairies. It was the first time I had been in the woods since we came here. it was really refreshing to get in the shade and hear the birds sing. When I buy my farm I shall be near my timber. . . .

Mr Parsons sold his farm a week ago for 27 hundred part prairie and part timber joining and is going farther west about two hundred miles. his wife feels very bad about it. I dont blame her. I have always looked at their place and thought it the prettiest place about here. there house stands near to the grove of timber. but any of the Westers are ready to sell any-time to make money. Mr Parsons paid six hundred for his two years ago so he thinks he will sell and go and make another good farm and sell again. I warrant all he has done to this one was to break and fence 20 or 30 acres. there was an old log hut on it that they have lived in since he came here without a window and so cold in Winter they have to go to bed to keep from freesing. that is what one of his boys told here. isnt it a shame a man worth between three and four thousand to live so but its the way of the world here.

We get along and do without things here that would be impossible in the East. I should dread for our neighbors to come and see us if they were not going to stay and settle. if so well and good for they would soon see the way of Western life. . . .

Wednesday forenoon I must try to steal a few minutes to write so as to get my letter finished to send to the office the first time any one goes that way. it is not here as it was to Ashaway. you have to write and wait an opportunity to get it to the office. five miles over those prairies is quite a peice. Tomorrow there will be ten or a dozen men here to thresh wheat so I shall get but precious little time to write then.

Our freight bill was enormous on our goods but I dont see what we could have spared very well. we get along with what we brought. all that I have bought is half dozen cups & saucers. we have to snub it but that is what I knew we should have to do but as long as we have enough to eat I shall feel pretty well satisfied. We dont have any dainties but we shall live just as long and perhaps be the healthier.

Molasses is eighty five cts per gallon sugar you can get 6, 8 and 9

pounds for a dollar. I did want to do up some plums but I cannot this year. great large ones most as big as peaches.

green tea such as we get there for forty cts is one dollar. We shall have to go on credit for a year then if John has his health I hope we can do pretty well. He has got his cow most paid for. I feel very thankful for that. and [he] has bought two more heifers. I dont know how he will manage to pay for them but if he cant why he must sell them. it is not like buying clothing or any such thing for they will sell and keep gaining too. I really want to keep them through the winter if possible as he has got his hay cut and they would sell then for a great deal more than what he gave. He bought them to a sale on three months credit last month for eighteen dollars of the same man he bought his cow of. . . .

a mink killed [Clara's] old white hen and part of the chickens so I had to take six of the chickens into the house. . . . Mrs. Robberts gave she and Bub¹⁵ a Shangai rooster and pullet. their names are Tom & Bet. I expect every night will be their last for the roost is not good for any thing and the owls minks wolves and hawks are ready to help themselves the first opportunity. If they will keep off untill John can build a roost I will thank them very kindly. . . .

I begin to dread the Winter. they tell such cold stories about here. they said last Winter was awful but generally the Winters are very mild so much so that the ground dont freese untill about January but last Winter their floors would ice when they mopped and the tables when they washed dishes. Mr Barnard froze his great toe one night. it happened to get out of bed when he was asleep. . . . people as a general thing clothe the west with to much romance I take it. its not all gold that shines. . . .

[Note from John Kenyon on same letter]

. . . we have dug a well since we have been here and I finished stoneing it up yesterday. I have been a thrasing this week. we had 1,00. 15 [sic. 115] bushels wheat. they use thrasing machines here. it requires 8 horses and ten men to tend them and will thrash from 3 to 5 hundred bus [bushels] a day. they put me in mind of a cotton hopper but make a heap more noise and its a right smart machine. that is a hoosier expression out here. you can use it for a by word. . . .

¹⁵ The Kenyons had two children in 1856: a daughter, Clara, aged 6, and a son, Ellis B., aged 2.

Sept. 25, 1856

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . Such a snake as John killed in the garden I never saw nor you either I guess. it was as large round as my arm and very long. Ann saw it first. it was crossing the path right ahead of her and the way she *hollered* was some. John and I was digging potatoes close by and Mary¹⁶ she come post haste with a stick with Clara and Bub at her heels from the house and John ran from where he was opposite and rapped him with his hoe. Mother and the girls went after hazlenuts last week. she saw a great yellow rattlesnake as large as this one but she did not dare to strike it. the bushes was so thick. Wolves carry off the neighbors pigs here every few nights. I should not dare to go far after dark here but Mary and John dont mind it or any of the rest of the folks around here.

we have got no hen roost yet and I expect every night I shall lose my hens. Eggs are from 15 to 20 cts per dozen wheat last week was down to fifty cts per bushel. rather of a hard look for the farmers but all that have sold around here get 75 cts. I wish you could get some for fifty cts which would bring your flour at 3.00 a barrel. . . . Molasses here is 90 cts a gallon. we cant afford to use it. I have not seen a peice of gingerbread this long while and dont expect to for a year to come. . . .

I have been anxious for John to get a peice of land but he dont seem to feel in a hurry. its rising every day but he thinks because he has no money he cant buy. I think that those that have no money can make money by buying and improving. He says he likes here the best of any where he has ever been in the West. It appears very healthy here. . . .

There has been a report that there was a colony coming from the East to settle within a mile of us in sight. there will be four Presbyterian ministers. there will be seven or eight ministers . . . then as there is four now. . . .

We dont have any new clothes. I will tell you when we do. John has had a pair of boots and shoes and bubbly has got to have some shoes. Clara and I will have to have some before Winter is over, and that I hope will carry us through.

John has been sued since we have been here. I was outrageously mad to see him so imposed upon and he paid the costs like a dunce when he was not obliged to as they did not go according to law but he is so mighty

¹⁶ Mary Ellis, Sarah Kenyon's sister.

good. . . . It was about his not working on the road.¹⁷ It rained one day so he did not go and the next time he was not warned of it untill ten oclock in the forenoon and the thrashers were all here and he could not leave. The law allows them ten days notice and not less than three at any rate and that by the man that sees to the road and he did not come near John. . . .

Plum Creek Oct 1st 1856

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . I sometimes wish we had a tract of land here so as to sell it in a year or two but whether John will or not I dont know. I think he can do well raising stock if he dont buy any land around here but land is raising and the country filling up in here so that he wont be able to pasture and cut hay for any great length of time. . . .

. . . I wish John could get his dagueratype taken but he cannot short of Dubuque unless he should happen to run in with one of those travelling saloons up to Delhi when they come along. . . .

We went down and offered Mr Robberts fifteen dollars per acre for his farm cash down to fetch on his Mother and sisters.¹⁸ he likes [it] here better than any place that he has seen out West. he has been in Wisconsin & Minnesota. is going to put up a lumber mill at Stillwater Minasota. Mr Robberts asked him twenty so they did not trade.

Mary has worn out those new shoes that you and she bought out there and has got her a pair of calf skin ones. I wish I had some buck thorn berries to make some syrup "for to take" now and then. I wish you would ask Capt Bills wife if she has not got some and if she has I would like two or three seeds in a letter and I will plant them in a box and grow them. The children make a terrible fuss over senna.¹⁹ Soon as John gets a minute [to] spare I want him to get me some butternut bark and I will try that. I dont know of anything else to prepare for physic. . . .

Delhi Dec 1st 1856

[John Kenyon]

. . . I am well as usual for me and have enjoyed good health here on the prairie. I think more so than it is around the timber and towns. it is

¹⁷ Most pioneers paid their road tax by working on the roads.

¹⁸ Evidently she means that the money from the land would enable "Mr. Roberts" to bring his mother and sister to Iowa.

¹⁹ A purgative made from the dried leaves of the senna plant.

quite sickly at Delhi at present. there was three funerals there to day and one to morrow and there is several more cases that is doubtful. they die with the typhoid fever. I have been to Delhi to [a] funeral to day. went as bearer. they could not get enough in town and had to come out to Plumb Creech for me and John Bernard. . . .

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . I should have written before but had no paper so I just gave John the last gold dollar I had and told him to get me some postage stamps and paper. he got the paper but instead of stamps a lot of tobbaeco. . . . you must save all of your old clothes for me. they are just as good as new here and I will dress up my young ones "right smart." They are all eating hill corn and milk and grunting about how cold they be and how lyey there corn is. . . . We are very anxious to get some seed of the Chinese sugar cane another year. then you see we will make our own lasses and sugar then. I must stop and go to bed for it is most nine oclock. I generally go to bed before eight and get up about nine. thats the way others do around here in very cold weather. . . .

We are all quite smart now. I made me a new hood out of Anges old dress skirt and have to wear it nights for a night cap. with the remainder I made Clara a quilt. Daytimes I wear Bubs sunbonnet. . . . You spoke about knitting stockings. I really wish we did have some for I guess I shall friz here. Mary swept off a heeping dust pan of frost off one window this afternoon.

. . . Monday night a weasel come in our hen roost and killed two pullets. They killed all of Mr Jones. thirteen for Mr Bob and quite a number for Barnards folks. I fear we are going to have a harder winter than we did last. The people around here say they had no such storm here last Winter. That money you sent was very acceptable for Clara and I are about barfoot. just as soon as the roads get clared if they ever do John will go to Dyersville. We have not had any molasses for two months. . . . Our light consists of a saucer filled with coons oil with a rag in it. still we are as chipper as birds and I have never seen the day what I wished myself East to live. . . .

[John Kenyon]

. . . Monday night it commenced snowing and blowing and it lasted for forty hours. such a storm I never saw since I can remember. the snow is about twenty inches deep in the woods where it is not drifted and on the

prairie it is from one inch to 16 feet deep. you could not see two rods some part of the day. tuesday John Barnard went to hickory grove to drive his cattle and he got lost in the prairie and did not get back untill the next morning. his folks was worried about him so his father in the course of the evening started to look for him and he got lost before he got ten rods from the house and the first thing he knew he brought up all standing at his own house and concluded not to try it again untill morning. . . .

Iowa, July 5, 1857

[Sarah Kenyon]

I am all alone excepting Clara and the day is as long as the moral law. I have to write with one eye in the garden and if the cattle was up the other would be in the wheat feild. . . . John has gone to see if he can get a dog. its nothing but a puppy but perhaps it will bark and do a little good. . . .

its hot as blazes here in the middle of the day so I had begun to get dinner. I must tell you what it was. well pusly [sic. pussley: purslane or portulaca] I was picking. I butter and sweeten [it] a little and play its string beans. try some. the first I cooked I stewed in that little tin cup you sent to John. it pleased our folks . . . but I was half starved and it was all that I could get that had got large enough and I was fairly surfeited with greasy pork and white bread. we have no potatoes now. let me see I was picking pusly looked up and the wheat was full of cattle so I started off on the full canter. when I came in hailing distance I clapped my hands and screamed . . . and all went out like fun but Fathers white steer. Steere by name. he would go one way and tother way and every way even to the right way but would not go far enough to do any good. after all I chased him up stream and let down all the pair of bars there was in the feild rapped him on the rump and bid him begone. I had to keep my eye on them till John came to dinner to put the fence up. . . . Jones cow tore down the garden fence but John was here to fix that and one of the calves was in by the time he was back to the house again.

But the cattle dont begin [to compare] with our hens. they are eating up every thing in the garden and we have to chase them the whole time trying to save a pea & bean. they will pick and eat bean leaves as fast as they would pick up corn. dont lay an egg. we made a soup with one [of] them the other day and I will make another. . . .

Lewis Box was here yesterday to change some eggs to set. I hadnt any

so he wanted to know if I could lend him a rooster. yes says I here is one. Bill was that minute coming for the beans. says I catch him he cant run very fast. I had tied his legs up so he could not get around so fast and I could give him a whack now and then so he soon ca[t]ched him. I gave him the shears and he undid his legs and started for home. every time I look out I expect to see him coming back with him. the boy wanted to know when we should want him. I told him we would let him know. that wont be till beans are out of the way and thats some time. its five oclock and I must go and feed my chickens. I have been up much as one dozen times since I began this. Now Clara will have to watch for me. . . .

Hay is going to be very light this year. we shant get more than enough for the cattle. the railroad contractor has great droves of fattening cattle which eat up all the grass besides its very light. I am dreadful sorry I was in hopes John could get enough to buy him a team. . . .

Oneida Aug 8th 1857

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . My health is rather worse than usual now. I have had a dreadful misery in my side a week or two back but its some better now. I put on a plaster and am taking Blackmans balsam. . . .

It seems like Fall it really scares me. every body is prophesying that the corn will be cut down with frost. I hope not for I have promised my family that they shall have a nubbin of corn one of those days to make up for their poor fare now. My pig looks first rate considering the fare she has sour milk and pusly. I want a Johnny cake myself too. anything but living where you dont have no meal. Our folks are trying to get up some hay. there has been so much rain that they dont get along a bit. . . . We have commenced making pickles this morning. . . .

I see by the Westerly Echo that Missouri is spoken of out East. its all Missouri here no going to Minnesota scarce once in a while one to Kansas but all seem to think the most of Missouri. I think its peoples duty to go there and try to make a free state of it as much so yes I think more so than to go off and pay money to foreign missions. . . .

Monday afternoon . . . Aunt Delby . . . took home my nipperkin [half pint] pail. is going to make me some vinegar with a vinegar plant she has. it springs out a new one from the old one. then they take it off put it in a gallon of water with a tea cup of mollasses and in eight days you have vinegar. . . .

Thursday eve 7 O'clock
Plumb Creek Oct 1st 1857

[John Kenyon]

. . . I am rather tired to night. I have been helping Mr Segar this afternoon draw corn. he helped me thrash. that is the way we have to manage out here. change work with one another. to morrow I have got to help Mr Box next day Mr Cruse then I shall be square with them all round. our wheat crop was rather light this year. only about 15 bushels to the acre. the season was rather wet. it run to straw mostly. we have had frost on the 28th and 30th but corn is out of the way mostly with the exception of some that had to be planted one 2 or three times. I had about 3 acres of sod corn that was not quite out of the way but I cut it up yesterday and this fore noon. my sugar cane just begins to top out. it looks like broom corn. it grows so high that you have to look twice to see the top of it. the folks think a good deal of it out here. good many has little patches of it out here this year experamenting on it. Mary has seen some of the sugar and molases. she thinks it is very nice. Mr Cummings out towards Delhi has made him a mill to crush it with. it is made like a cider mill only the roollers are smooth. they crush it and get the juice out then boil down for molases then boil it little harder for sugar. . . .²⁰

The mice and cattle plagued us very bad. they are posessed to get in to the corn fields. you have to keep one eye on your work and the other on the cattle. last week Mr Stephens cattle got into his corn and one of them has died. one of his cows and two others they dont think will live. our cattle was over there the same night. Mr Jones went over after them. I met him down to Cruses and help[ed] him drive them home. I did not get to bed untill half past eleven. . . .

Friday noon . . . I went to digging potatoes. the gophers are eating them the worst way. I shant get more than half crop say 75 or 80 bushels. I shall have plenty of corn and potatoes if nothing hapens and some to sell. I have onions turnips cabbage pumpkins croocknecks beets carrots and a fat pig in the pen that will weight pretty close to 2,00 lbs now and I have plenty of stuff to give him so you see that I shall have something to

²⁰ Sorghum, or Chinese sugar cane, was being planted throughout the state in these years, as a substitute for the expensive southern sugar and molasses. Sorghum molasses was made in quantity, but farmers were never successful in making sugar from the cane.

eat this winter if I am lucky. I am going to get me two or three pigs this fall so I can raise my own pigs and have some to sell providing I am lucky.

Sunday afternoon. I am going to Delhi to morrow to carry some wheat to mill and sell some chickens to buy bub some shoes. we have over one hundred [chickens] all together and all we can get for them is 15 ct a piece. they sell chickens by the pair out west. so much a pair. . . . pork is going to be high out here this fall. folks think it will be ten dollars a per hundred fresh by the hog. corn is 30 cts now and it will be down to 25 in less than 4 weeks. molases 80 cts beef 5 and 6 Dolls per hundred lbs. flour is 2.25 to 2.50 per hundred eggs 20 cts butter 25 cheese 16 cts. . . .

Dec 5 1857

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . How I wish it was possible for us to help you but I dont see as we can now.²¹ hard times reaches Iowa. that is as far as money is concerned. money is out of the question here. if people are obliged to raise money they have to sacrifice the whole nearly. If we should sell every thing that is saleable that we own we could not raise fifty dollars and then how we should ever get started on life through the winter I could not tell. If I live to see another Summer and have my health at all we shall try to help you a little at a time. . . .

I have never written to you how we lived for I knew it would worry Mother but we have snubbed it in true Western style. last Winter I came very near giving up but we received that money from home . . . and I do think it saved my life but only for one year. perhaps was it gain, who can tell. We had a cold Winter and a cold house without plastering or Clapboards with but very little meat no butter no sweetning. white bread and potatoes and stewed pumpkins was our living. I was so that my appetite was all gone at least for such things. our milk was gone but John bought Brownny and he used to bring me in a cup full of the strippings when he milked and I began to recruit right away. the warm days came and I staid in my garden all the time I could and I was the strongest this summer I ever was since Clara was born. . . .

This fall I went and gathered hasle nuts so last night John Clara and me sat up untill ten oclock getting them out. what do you think of [sic. for]. well to sell to buy me some lasses [molasses]. I havnt tasted any since last

²¹ They had recently received news of the death of John Kenyon's mother.

Spring and some dried apples. we have no souring or sweetning of any kind use no tea or coffee no spices no grease of any kind except butter but I shall have a doughnut when the pig is killed and all the pork ham sausage &c I wish. once John went to Dyersville this week to get him a pair of boots but they wont trust such hard times. he bought the children two doughnuts and you never saw how well pleased they were. I have made butter enough so far to buy what little we do have. I have the sage for my sausage paid twenty cts for quarter of a pound. if I was going to be at liberty next Summer I would raise sage and red pepers for sale as well as for my own use. . . .

Jan 23d 1858

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . I am sitting by my own fireside to day and very pleasant it seems to me. havnt got settled as yet but hope to by Spring. havnt a chair or teacup in the world but I dont mind that if I can only be by myself. . . .

the times grow harder and lighter here every day. produce sells for mere nothing. wheat 30 corn & oats 15 butter 15 eggs 10 but groceries and dry goods high as ever. . . .

[John Kenyon]

Sunday eve, Jan 31 1858 . . . I never saw such time since I can remember as we are having out west. I have not had a dime of my own for the last six months and do not expect to have one for the next six to come. . . . We are having beautiful weather as any one could wish for. no snow to speak of. . . . some difference from last Winter. . . .

we have had two great wolf hunts²² out here about 70 to 1,00 turned out. the first hunt on horse back with guns and other weapons. on the second there [were] only about 40. they got 6 in the ring and drove them in to rouges grove and left them. they start from diferent places and come in a circle out center about mile and half from us where they have a flag raised so they can see it for miles. they have drove them in from off the prairie so they are quite thick about here. Mr Roberts one of our neighbors got up night before last in his shirt he said an[d] chased them away from the house. pon my soul he says the beggars followed me right bang up to the house. . . .

²² For these circular wolf hunts, see William J. Petersen, "Wolves in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 38:65-9 (January, 1940).

Saturday June the 20th 1859

[John Kenyon]

. . . I have planted about twenty acres of corn and 7 or 8 acres of small grain. I finished planting corn yesterday rather late to plant on the sod.

there is quite an excitement here now about horse thieves. there is [a] regular band of them all through this state and Minesota. they are stealing horses all round us and the inhabitants are geting very desperate. they lynched a man about four miles from us last week. they had suspicion of him. some one had lost two horses. they went and told him he must produce the horses in so long a time and he did so and that was enough to satisfy them. he was one of them. eight men seized [him] carried [him] about two milles to a little grove and strung him up by his neck and held him there to make him confes where and who the rest of the gange [was]. then they would let him down to breath. they served him so several times but could not get any thing out [of] him. they was so mad that they hung him up and left [him] to die but two of the men felt a little conscience smiten and went back and cut him down. he had about gone up. they think he will die any how. The sherif have arrested part of them. . . .

Paul I did not tell you about my going to Pikes Peak. well I did not go but I have seen men that has been and they give hard account of [the] country. they say there [are] thousands on their way back and some have actuly starved to death. it is the greatest humbug that ever was known in the west. hundreds have gone from around here sold out every thing and come back with nothing. there will be a good deal of suffering amongst the emigrants. It cant be avoided. they are sending provisions on to them but afraid it will be to late for some. . . .

Aug 1st 1859

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . Well our wheat is pretty good this year so we shant have to buy flour I hope. oats good barley good taters one and two in a hill sorghum good garden sass good all but the beans. . . .

when I have a new dress I will send you a piece. I have not decided which to get a red one or a *yaller* one. I think as I cant afford but one I shall get the two colors combined. havent bought a yard of calico or any other dress material since we came to Iowa. I have made over patched and repatched untill every thing is used up. . . .

I must go and help John pull some pusly for the hogs. I guess between

us they will not starve. I forgot to tell you what bad luck I had with my poultry. I have not a single young duck and but two chickens. have set eggs enough to have had a hundred. my rooster the hogs killed and Johns red one has gone up or down. I guess he ate some corn that was strychnined for gophers.

[John Kenyon]

Friday, July the last I do not know what date but that does not make any difference in Iowa. I know one thing that is it is the height of harvesting and haying and I am flat as a pancake. been tied up in the house a week ago to day with a sore foot. they call it a carbuncle. . . . last night I put on a soap and sugar plaster and that seems to bring it to a focus. . . . all the way I can get round is with a crutch I made myself. . . .

I have my wheat all down but the question is when shall I get it up. I will trust in providence for that. I have about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre of oats to cut then comes my haying but I will not worry you with my croaking. . . .

Sunday Oct 15th 1859

[John Kenyon]

. . . the cars leave Nottingham for Manchester to morrow 8 or 9 miles west then a week from to morrow they go farther west.²³ . . .

we are going to buy a mate to fred and we have got a yoke of oxen named bob and tom. now for the frost. we had one every month but one that was July. we had one 4th of June killed every thing then we had one the last of august caped the climax killed every thing dead as door nail. I had about 20 acres of corn mostly sod corn. I shant have twenty bushels. wheat crop good 60 bushels. oats I sowed one bushel and had 20. barley $1\frac{1}{2}$ and had 7. potatoes 90 bushels and the best I ever saw. . . . Sorghum little over $\frac{1}{4}$ acre 30 gallons splendid better than the sale molasses. we have cabbage beets carrets turnips &c and some for our own use. 4 hogs fattening and 7 shoats to keep through winter if we dont eat them all up. if I could have 2 or 3 hundred dollars 2 months ago to bought oats with I could have made a spee [?] in the operation. they could [have] been bought then for ten cts a bushel. next spring they will bring 75 cts quick.

²³ The Dubuque & Pacific RR began construction in 1855, building as far as Dyersville. By December, 1857, the road reached Earlville in Jones County (at that time called Nottingham), and Manchester in the fall of 1858. This is now a part of the Illinois Central system. John F. Merry (ed), *History of Delaware County, Iowa, and Its People* (2 vols., Chicago, 1914), 1:171.

now for the market prices. wheat 52 cts and flour \$1,60 to \$2,00 per hundred. corn none in market. heard of one or two loads of poor soft stuff sold for 25 ct. oats 22 cts. beans white \$1,30 cts onions 50 cts Sorghum 50 ct per gallon potatoes 20 ct per bu beets 35 tomatoes \$1,00 per bush crab apples \$1,00 butter 12½ cts cheese 9 and 10 cts eggs 8 cts per doz pickels 4 Dolls per bbl. I must stop for the present for prairie fire is coming down on us full split and the wind is blowing a perfect gale.

Monday eve Oct 23d . . . and now for the prairie fire we had week ago yesterday. I went to window and looked out and it was about 1½ miles off[f]. I could [see] nothing but smoke and it looked awful dark. I grabed the hoe and scythe and started for our south road about 20 rods from the house. when I got there the fire had just reached the road. it come in the shape of a V and the flames roled higher [than] the waves on the ocean. it looked awfull to me. I was so frightened that I shook like a dog. . . . it had crossed the road. I run for life and put it out and followed it up the road ten rods or so untill it was past our land. I hurried back but it had crossed the road in another place and was within ten feet of the fence. Father Ellis and Mother and Ann was fighting of it like mad (as the english say) with foot mats rag rugs old peices of carpet coats and petticoats &c. we fought it to the corn field then it had to side burn about 20 rods then it had a clean sweep for the hay. stables and house chicken coops hogs sties all made of hay and poles but the house. Father and me stayed and fought it and the women folks cut it for the stacks and raked up all the old stalks they could. Mary she come just as the fire was coming round the fields. she grabed bed close of[f] the bed carpeting any thing she could lay her hands on. . . . had all wet ready for action. on came the fire and how they kept it of[f] the stock the Lord only knows. I was [so] frightened that I dare not look that way. if it had not [been] for the female department everything would burn. they fought like heroes. Beaches and Joneses folks had almost as narrow escape as we but not quite so long. they had it about an hour and we 4 or 5 hours. they said they fought so hard they would come out of the fire and smoke and throw them selfs on the ground. they thought they was going up. I did not fight hard as that but I fought hard enough to burn of[f] my whiskers and hair so I had to have them cut. I looked rather red around the jaws . . .

Mr Campbell one of our nearest neighbors south of us killed a bear last week in his corn field. he rode up to him [on] horse back [and] fired one

barrel. his horse threwed him off[f]. the bear closed in with him. he beat him with his gun untill he broke the breech off[f]. then he used the barrel untill he killed him. the bear hurt him some on the arm and leg so he had to have a Doct. the bear weighed 200 lbs and he sold him to Esq Gillman at Notingham for the sum of twenty Dolls. I would not mind being scratched a little for that amount. there was a bear seen on hickery grove a few weeks ago. . . . The Almorat folks have seen signs of one up their. he carried off[f] Mr Harsons beehive. . . .

Sunday Nov [n. d.] 1859

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . John works like a nigger and its all to no purpose. there is something to drag us down the whole time. . . . the frosts have set us down from where we began. John has to work out to get corn to feed his hogs for they must be fatted to pay our fencing and breaking bills and I do his work. I have dug nearly all the potatoes between 30 and 40 bushels worked in the sugar cane patch one week pulled white beans carrots &c gathered all the seeds and husked a load of frosted corn cobs every day. There was no corn to it for the hogs 11 of them that just kept them from squealing while they was eating and that was all the good it did them and I am so glad that I can work that I wont change the West for the East yet. Its nothing to work if one has the strength to do it and I have been tough as a pitch knot untill I had this hard cold that laid me up for three weeks so I just kept the family from starving. there was two days Mary had to cook and then Clara did the rest. I had the sick headache once toothache once and the cholera morbus one day. that was all the time that I have lain by from my work that I can remember since sis was born. . . .

[John Kenyon]

. . . I have to work like a niger this fall and seems rather hard to farm it and then work out to buy corn to fat your pork on. I get four bushells of corn for a days work and the hogs will eat about one and a half a day but I have got a little the start of them now about twenty bushels. . . .

Bears are quite plenty here now. I hear of one being killed every few days. they have burnt over the prarie and timber so much in Minesota that they have left and the Indians have followed them to[o]. there is about 60 or 70 out two miles from Delhi come down a hunting the bears. they are only five or six miles from us.

the Nottingham folks dedicated their new school house last tuesday. they had a grand time. the Governors Greys a military company from Dubuque was out also the Buffalo Band. the ladies had a fair the proceeds to go towards buying a bell and in the evening they had a ball and supper also extra oyster supper. they also had a grab bag full of little trinkets 10 cts a grab. . . .

Seventh Day Eve January 28th 1860

[John Kenyon]

. . . Sally says she cant have time to write to night she has so many dishes to wash. she has four plates one bowl one tumbler and two tea cups and saucers. we have five in all now but we have had only one tea cup and saucer for months and months and months but we have enoughf to eat and drink thank the lord so wee dont mind about the other fixings. wee have about half a barell of Sorghum yet and wheat enoughf to do us as the hoosiers say. potatoes and vegetables of various kinds. . . .

I have been drawing wood this winter. I bought a lot of dead and downed wood just as it stood and lay on the woods for six dollars. I have sold nine dollars worth and have enoughf left to last me two years. I made a ten strike that time but it is the first time since I have been in the west. I have lost a two year old steer and a yearling heifer this winter and come pretty near looseing another. it got caut in the manger. I happened to go out early that morning so I saved him. I lost one the morning before in the same place. we have a very good school this winter. Clara and Ellis goes every day. we have a female teacher Miss Lease. . . .

I have been to Nottingham to day. brought home lots of things. I suppose you would like to know what I bought. . . . 3 yds of overhall cloth 20 cts worth stocking yearn 25 cts worth sugar a pen holder and pencil for C[lara] and a pencil for Ellis. I stopped and cut Mary some wood and she give me some sausage and doughnuts to eat and candy for the babies.

they have a splendid school over a hundred scholars. it has been quite sickly in and around Notingham this winter. putred sore throat and ty-poid fever. some six or seven deaths. . . .

they talk of starting a union store out here. they have their meeting the fourth of next month. the farmers want to get the highest market price for their grain and pork and so on and get their groceries at the wholesale prices at St. Louis and Chickago. Father Ellis sold his minks skins last

week 13 of them for \$19,50 cts. He has been to his traps to day and brought home 2 more. that is office seekers salary 3 dollars per day. . . .

now for Markets prices. wheat 81 to 85 cts per bu. oats 28 to 30 Corn 25 to 30 cts beans 80 cts to \$1,00 potatoes 30 beets 30 turnips 25 carrots 25 flour 2.50 per hundred pork $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{3}{4}$ cts by the hog. beef $3\frac{1}{2}$ pr hundred hides green 4 cts dried 9 cts. tallow ruff 8 cts tried 12 cts candles 15 cts lb lard 9 or 10 cts eggs $12\frac{1}{2}$ butter $12\frac{1}{2}$ coffee 8 lbs to dollar sugar 11 to 14 lbs for \$1,00 dried apples 12 cts per lb peaches do [ditto] mackerel 10 cts lb codfish 9 cts whitefish 15 cts caught in Lake Erie. wood \$2,50 cord lumber common fencing and sheeting fine 15 to 17 dolls per M. flooring and siding 28 to 32 laths 25 per hundred shingles \$2,50 bunch. . . .

We have subscribed for the New York Tribune. Mary pays 50 cts and Father and me 25 cts each. it is a company concern.

Sunday Jan 30 1860

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . John need not make game about my washing dishes for he got in a bowl and I dont own any such article. I have six plates too. we are the poorest folks you ever saw but I would not own it to any body but you. . . . if we should sell every thing we could not pay our debts. Renselleer is very kind to us. I dont know where we should have been if it had not been for him. he let John have his oxen last spring. John was going to fat them and kill them to pay for them last fall but the frost took the fat things away so R told John he would wait another year. he sent us 26 papers they were of all kinds. some pictorials Frank Leslies New York weeklys &c. they are directed to Clara. she felt pretty Big. Mary paid our breaking bill. she holds us up by the seat of the breeches so we have not come down yet. she has let John have money a good many times. we should have straightened ourselves out if we had have had a good corn crop but we are waiting for our good luck to come all at one time now, and when it does rain porridge our basin will be right side up I hope. Now with all our perplexities we cant be what the world calls very good. I am glad we have some one to pray for us for prayer is something rare in the West. I heard one last 4th of July and two besides that the year before but . . . dont despair about us. the angels have their hooks in us and we shall be drawed in yet I trust. Why John does more in keeping from drinking gambling &c than Paul would to preach the gospel pray and all

the rest of the good things 50 years. John dont chew tobacco now either. He laid off the first of January and we drink tea and coffee now in its stead. quite a good exchange for me for we have to go without milk. . . .

my hens lay. I sold 2 dz. yesterday. now if I could have your price for them I should be well off for rations. John brought me home a big rooster last week but it took as much to keep him as one of the hogs so I sent off one of my ducks and changed for a little white one and took off the big ones head. John paid twelve and a half cents for him. he weighed six pounds.

Earlville March 12, 1860

[Mary Ellis to Paul and Ange Barber,²⁴ John Kenyon's sister and brother-in-law.]

. . . John has been quite well but the poor fellow met with a sad accident yesterday. he was in the woods splitting rails with another man — he went to take an iron wedge out of the log and the man with him accidentally struck his hand. broke the middle finger so that it lay upon the back of his hand. the others were badly mashed. . . .

. . . I went [to a party] last Friday night. there were over 150 present. had a very pleasant time. It was a *leap year* party. I took a *married man* for my partner and his wife took for her partner *the very one* I should have taken under other circumstances. . . . out west young and old married & single all go together — dancing, whist & chess playing charades &c is generally the program of the evening. It is all *fashionable* so no *wrong* done. . . .

[n.d., but evidently written between
letters of March 12 and 18, 1860]

[Mary Ellis]

. . . I want to talk with you about John and Sarah this evening. They have tried so hard to get along since they came west and it seems as though *bad luck* was there portion. I sometimes wonder they keep up the courage they do. you have no idea how poor they are for their crops have failed them every year yet but John has just looked it all in the face and kept steady to work and Sarah has done more work the three years we have been here than she ever done before. John is respected by all his neighbors

²⁴ John Kenyon's sister, Ange, was married to Paul Barber. All the Kenyon letters are addressed to the Barbers or to John's mother, before her death in 1857.

and loved too, and that is something. how he will bear up under this last misfortune I dont know. it comes just as his Spring's work comes on. . . .

Now Ange you hold a note or the family does against him and that note worries him more than every thing else. he often says if anything should happen to her [Ange] what would become of him with interest to pay &c not that he had any fear of Paul. I never heard him mention his name in the case.

If you would send him that note I will guarantee he will pay your part as soon as he can and not let the boys know anything about it. I let him have twenty dollars last Fall & will give him the note besides a two year old steer to match the one he lost if you will send that note and Father will give him ten acres of land that is already fenced and partly broke. I would do more but I have to help Father some. he is now five hundred dollars in debt so you can judge how much he is able to do. These hard times have made it very hard for Iowa farmers.

This is a strange letter for me to write but I felt it my duty to ask and tell you just how it was. John knows nothing of this. it is all my own asking. If you will send the note do send it as soon as possible. it would be such a joyful surprise for both Sarah and John. . . .

Earlville March 18th 1860

[Mary Ellis]

You cannot think how pleased I was to receive a letter from you so soon. I feel very grateful to you for what you have done for John. It was a great as well as a very *glad* surprise to them. You will never lose anything by it, for if the time ever comes when they can you will be rewarded.

I know them both well enough for that — they knew nothing of my writing untill the letter came.

John's hand gains but slowly. The neighbors are very kind and have promised to come and put in his wheat for him. . . .

John set down and cried like a child when he got your letter. Mother said when he came home after he hurt his hand when he came in the children run up to him and he burst out crying and said my poor children what will become of them. I'm so poor. he did not seem to think of it till he saw them. . . .

Oneida Monday March 18, 1860

[Sarah Kenyon]

Saturday we received a letter from you and was very much surprised at

the contents. I did not know which it was best to do laugh or cry but as John took to the latter I made up my mind to do neither as I could not laugh with very good grace on account of a big bunch in my throat and stomach and if I should cry there would be no one to keep order.

Now you want to hear from Johns paw. it is bad yet — cant use it at all but as he dont faint when I dress it now of course it is better. the one that had the end cut off when he was a youngster is worse than the one which was broken short off. his hand is much swollen yet. how long before he will use it I cant tell. My health has been very poor ever since he was disabled which makes it very bad. but I am better now. soon as I get my strength if I ever do I shall make things whiz. I have had the tormenteded [sic] cold or horses distemper that I ever had. first I was taken with an awful headache and cough. it seemed as if my stomach was raw. then I hoarsed up so I could not speak aloud. . . . the time I employed in blowing my nose & sneezing. Then I had a second seige of earache. Clara and sis was sick with colds at the same time. sis would cry half the night with earache and Clara groan the rest while John would have roared if I had not quelled him with morphene. Ellis was quite decent. he had his earache in the daytime. Mother has had the lung fever but is better now. I think if she had doctored in season she might have thrown it off but I was taken before she was and was not able to do any thing for her. as for me I am used to doctering myself. John was taken with the cold after me. I just put the physic and hoarhound tea to him nice and kept him on water porridge the next day and he came out bright as a new dollar.

Last Friday we were blessed with two little calves a *steer* and heifer. Saturday John and Ellis went to mill so I had to keep pretty busy so much I forgot to eat any dinner. our cows did not do well but I doctored them all day. one I think is doing well but Brownie is bad yet. Father has a heifer that is the same. she is as poor as a snake. I cant bear to think Brownie will get so poor but I expect she will and perhaps die. we feed her with boiled wheat oats roots flaxseed &c to save her if possible. the greatest of it all the cows changed calves. Brownie was the master cow she had her calf first. when the other one come she took to that and made her own go with the other cow. the other cow seemed perfectly satisfied.

About that note. well we thought we could have paid it before now but it seemed as if we were fated or cursed or something very like it. every [thing] has gone *tother end too*. early frosts in the fall and late frosts in

the Spring chints bugs wet weather sore feet sore hands dead cattle &c but I told John as long as our health was good and our lives spared we would try not to fret too much but I have seen days when the house could not hold me. I would go out and work and something not very much akin to gratitude swelled my *bussum* for of all things in the world it is hard to see everything laid to waste by the frost that was growing and likely to make an abundant harvest — just like catching a bird. get your hand on it but it would get away in spite of you. but I am going to try one more year that is if John can work and we have our health. all the hope I have is that the bitter is all in one place and by and bye we shall have a little sweet but if we all live I hope we may see better days so we can repay you for your many deeds of kindness. . . .

About sending money, I dont want you too. you need it yourself. We can grub through I will warrant. I should think we could return it in the fall but we have had such luck I dont dare think of any thing now. our crops have been so uncertain. any Eastern money is good here but Western money wont go at the East. Checks are the safest. No discount. sometimes people get a premium. how it is now I dont know. John had a check cashed for Uncle Otis when he was going home and got half a cent premium which Uncle Ootis give him for his trouble making 50 cts. . . .

Oneida Oct 10th 1860

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . We are all pretty well and enjoying life the best we have since we came out West — she is shaking off her shackles and with it I hope we shall. . . . John has threshed his grain had 125 bus of wheat 10 of rye 93 of oats and we have lots of corn, and 4 old hogs to fat and 13 shoats to eat. pork is selling first rate and they think it will all the fall. 4 cts live weight and generally it hasnt fetched that dressed. Beef is quite low. we are fattening the oxen and one cow. some wheat & oats to sell which I hope will make our debts look small if we have good luck.

I am awful tired to night. been digging potatoes with John this afternoon. when the taters & carrots are all out of the ground & the sugar cane made up I quit for the season. I have worked well this Summer. this is the first help that John has hired. had a reaper to cut six acres of wheat — all the rest he has got through with my help and the childrens. what do you think of that. He has put in 25 acres of sod corn and 10 of old ground . . . and such lots of pumpkins & squashes. and before I forget it we dont

see any signs of fall yet. when the frost does come I guess it will be snow. We have some [of] the best lasses you ever saw I will bet a goose.

Have we ever wrote you that we were going to move. John has took another farm of 40 acres. its about half of it broke. we shall have a house with two rooms kitchen and bed room. I wish their was a garret and pantry. I should be very grand then but I dont sport many dishes so their is some gain in that. We shall have to go without clothes one more year — then I hope we can have some but we have got along so much better than we ever have before I feel real thankful. . . . Mary declares she never will marry a farmer — their lives are so hard. . . .

[John Kenyon]

. . . my fingers are so stiff yet that I cant make much hand at writeing. . . . the neighbors helped me get in 6 acres of wheat and I hired a reaper to cut 6 acres and I have did all the rest myself with Sally and the children untill now I have hired me a man for a month at ten Dollars a month. the prospects look bright now. We have good crops and good prices for this country. I am going to farm about 60 acres next year. . . .

business is picking up in the far west. the cars pass four times a day at Nottingham now and seems kinder old fashion. . . .

now for the market prices. pork 4 cts live weight beef $4\frac{1}{2}$ dressed wheat 60 to 70 cts oats 23 Corn none in market butter 10 cts eggs 6 a doz chickens 10 to 12 cts a peice beef hides green 5 ct. . . .

[Sarah Kenyon)]

Oct 29 we have frost but the weather is warm yet. we have 60 gallons of mollasses. I am cutting carrot tops of[f] now. when I get them done I shall be glad. there will be over 100 bushels. . . .

Oneida Feb 23 1861

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . I have the headache about as much as ever this Winter but it seldom floors me nowadays. I have been making soap to day out of concentrated lye and it did not help my head any by a long chalk. . . .

Such a winter as we have had so far would make any body weep. cold as Greenland. snow . . . in the timber and banks to Johns neck on the prairie. the snow blowed so Saturday you could not see 3 rod and it has blowed just so much every snow storm. this winter is dreadful for our poor cattle with nothing but a shed and that made of hay and straw. John says he shall sell out before winter but I guess he will forget it next July. Some

were sowing wheat this time last year and now there is such a body of snow I fear & tremble for if wheat is not in early here it is a perfect failure. You spoke of our getting rich. we get enough to eat now that we could not always boast of. the clothes we have not come to yet. when we do I will let you know.

You spoke of politics. dont talk to me of that for I get enough of that here. . . . its all war here. they are drilling companies for *sarvices* right smart. Oh dear the *tarnal lection* [election] made awful work here. brought produce flat and what you did sell and get the money for perhaps the money would be worthless before you were home. I presume you heard of the banks suspending and smashing. they begin to talk of another smash but I hope not. we have had hard diggings long enough. John has hired a man to work for him this Summer. hope I shall not have to do quite as much out doors. will work about 50 acres this year and break some I hope. we are on our hired place. it is quite a comfortable place for out West. Johns cattle have not been out of the yard since last Nov. their drink is in the yard quite an item for the west. . . .

Tuesday morning or noon it is now. . . . Perhaps we shall come East to live after a while. my health improves every year and when we get a little start I think farming would pay a great deal better East than here. the more you raise the worse you are off for it takes so much to pay for getting it. John will write you the prices then you just consider what a small [one word illegible] for a great deal of care and labor. Sometimes I wish he would stop farming but he likes it and so do I. Produce is so cheap it would cost nothing to live but there is nothing to do here but work on the railroad and I dont fancy that. If we only had a farm East we would show you the way it was done. if we had the money for what we raised last year at Eastern prices we should be independent. . . . It seems like a great deal to an Eastern person but its merely nothing in value here. O dear my soap and emptyings plague me beyond measure. the soap wont mix and the yeast sours. all the way I have to make bread is out of water salt & flour. Did you ever make any salt risings bread. if not I wish you would try one loaf. . . .

I have two rooms here no pantry or chamber. its a stone house the dampest frostiest hole I ever saw. . . . My hens have laid 12 eggs to day and I expect to get a cent a peice for them. I feel pretty well I tell you. it wont be a week if this weather holds before they will be down to 7 or 8

cts per doz. last fall they would not sell at any price. 5 cts through the Summer was all you could get. . . .

March the 3rd 1861

[John Kenyon]

. . . the snow is fast disappearing and the ground is quite bare. we have had a thaw for about a week rain a little and fog all the rest of the time but it has clared off[f] quite pleasant and warm. the snow has been from two to three feet deep since the first of January and cold most severest weather I ever saw. the snow would blow enoughf to suffocate one to be out in it. all I have did this winter is my chores and I could not half do them some of the time it blowed and snowed so. I have 17 head and expect 4 more soon. 12 shoats 8 barrows and 4 sows. I lost the best one I had. I carried it to Randels (he keeps blooded stock) and his hogs fought it so it frose to death one cold night.

I shall farm from fifty to sixty acres this season. have a hired man half the time Father Ellis the other. we sowed wheat last year about this time. I dont think we shall this year untill after the first of April. I intend to put in about 35 acres of small grain this year so as to have some to sell another year if nothing happens and it is the Lords will. I have about one hundred bushels of wheat and 300 of Corn 40 or 50 of potatoes and lots of vegetables and about 30 gallons of Sorghum and one whiskey barrel of Pickles. we have enoughf to eat and that is good as our neighbors but things are low here. that is farmers produce. . . .

you must excuse my poor writeing for since I hurt my hand I cant shut my two middle fingers. they are in the way I find in a great many instances. if I grab a pig by the ear all I can hold by with my right hand is my thumb and fore finger. . . .

Old Abe will take the reins in his hands I suppose if they do not kill him. I hope he will bring some of those hot headed southerners to Limerick. this is getting to be a great country. I should think the way they are acting at the south but I hope it will come out all right after a little as the hoosiers say. . . .

now for the market prices. wheat 55 to 60 per bu oats 16 cash 18 store pay barley 45 rye about the same as wheat. white beans 75 cts potatoes 15 cts carrots 15 corn 18 to 20 per bu $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 by the hog beef $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ hay \$2,00 per ton. grocerys and dry goods up to the top notch. good cows 16 to 20 Doll yearling 5 to 6 two year olds 9 to 10 3 year olds 14

to 16, four year old steers well broke 45 to 60 according to quality old oxen 65 to 80 scarce at that. corn is so cheap and plenty farmers have fattened every thing that will sell. . . .

Oneida Oct 11, 1861

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . Our hired man left just as corn planting commenced so I shouldered my hoe and have worked out ever since and I guess my services are just as acceptable as his or will be in time to come to the country. He writes very humbly to us. says if God spares his life he will make it up to John for leaving him for he dont think he did right. for my part I am glad he went. we shant have him to pay. all he went for he thought his one dollar a month more than we paid him was worth risking his head for and he thought he was going for 3 months²⁵ only but when they arrived to their camp they wanted 3 year volunteers. he refused to take his oath but they hissed him so he ponied up.

We had a very dry summer but a wet spring & fall. our wheat was about half a crop but we did not hire but 5 acres reap[ed] and a boy 1 day and a half. John cradled the children raked and I bound 20 acres the hottest weather I ever seen. thermometer 110 in the shade. men quit in other fields some worked in the night but we stood it through but it took the flesh all off me what little I had. I wore a dress with my sunbonnet wrong [wrung] out in water every few minutes and my dress wet also. this was all the clothing Clara and I wore. aint I coming into niggerdom fast. we are getting into the fall work pretty well. to day we were going down to Mark Earls stripping sugar cane for him to pay for his mill and horse to work ours.

I never thought to tell you about our health. John is pretty well I am ditto to day. Yesterday I was tired out so staid in the house and washed till pitch dark. Clara and I have pulled beans for 3½ days and dug taters half a day. . . .

A great many are in a perfect stew thinking they [the Confederates] will go through here burning and plundering but I dont fear any thing but the red skins. they are pretty saucy out West. . . .

I am sorry Paul has the Neuralgia for I know how to pity him. My remedy is to take red pepper tea and bind on wherever the pain is. if

²⁵ The 1st Iowa Infantry regiment, recruited in May, 1861, was a three-month regiment. After that, all enlistments were for three years.

that dont break it put the mustard poultices strong to neck arms and feet. if that dont do put a blister²⁶ on the arm. if not very hard I have put one behind my ear and made that answer the purpose. . . .

There is no Secession about me or rank abolitionism. still now is the time to rid the country of the curse of Slavery I do hope & pray.

Sunday eve Nov 24th 1861

[John Kenyon]

. . . we have about finished our falls work. we have only 60 or 70 bushels of corn to husk and shant I be glad. we shall have about 300 bushels. Sally and the children help farm it. they are equal to two men. Sally and C[lara] will husk about as fast as I can. they will take two ears and Ellis and me two and we make every thing snap. I dont know what I should did with out them. help was so scarce and high \$1,50, \$2,00 per day and board. every thing we raise is very low and things we have to buy is dear. cotton cloth 15 cts per yd and every thing else to match it. wheat is worth 50 cts per bushel corn 10 cts oats 12½ rye 35 barley 25 buck-wheat 40 flour \$1,50 per hundred potatoes 12½ to 20 cts bus turnips 10 carrots 10 butter 10 cts lb eggs 8 chickens 10 cts a peice beef \$2,00 per hundred live weight hogs the same. sugar cane molasses 65 cts a gallon. . . . we are going to have a roasted turkey and plum puding thanksgiving day. . . . our school commences the first Monday in Dec. I hired Frances Dunham. he is an old teacher. pay \$25 Dollars per month. . . .

Oneida Oct 9/62

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . yesterday I had the sick headache. worked too hard the day & night before. stripped sugar cane all day untill I could not stand up straight. then went out in the evening and cut it up as we were going to have a frost and a hill of it is pretty heavy to lift and it rather upset my foundation pins.

John talks of coming East this winter. says he is going to take his pork and start if he can. he [is] sure of work when he gets there. I hate to be left with the cattle we have such awful snow storms. I am afraid they would all die. but if he can go and make enough to pay his way I think he had better for he has been a long time away. . . . He says he dont want

²⁶ A blistering plaster.

to leave on account of the Secesh and Indians. precious deal of good he would do. merely get his own head cracked or neck stretched. . . .

the way they do grind us Westerners is awful. cant sell any thing, have to give it away to get the cars to carry it. eggs wont sell at all. I made out to sell a chicken to buy this paper with to a lumber dealer. dont expect I could have done that but he is selling out and I guess he was *mighty* hungry. butter I did not make any to sell this summer. let the calves run on the prairie with the cows. I was not going to bother with milking feeding calves skimming milk churning &c when butter wont fetch a cent part of the time and but 6 or 8 the other. If I did not have to work out all the time I would not mind it but its more than I can do to get victuals for five in a family without fussing with milk. If John comes East I shall wish I had made some to send to you but as it is we shall have to buy through thrashing. Our wheat was a very poor yeild on account of the bugs. John did not pay out but 3 dollars for help on 18 acres of wheat and it was just as much trouble to harvest as though it was good. When we get the lasses made taters dug and roots pulled I hope I can come in and patch up and wash of. . . . I am heartily tired of laboring so for nothing and I am going to make a rumpus soon if things cant be squeased out. . . .

Johns hand dont exempt him from draft still no recruiting officers will have him. we had perillous times here for a while when they were talking of drafting. men that had been down and tried to enlist last Spring and had their papers from the army surgeon as exempt did not get clear in the draft. At the same time four and five hundred Indians were camped about 10 or 12 miles from here armed to the teeth without a single squaw or pappoose with them. people thought that if there was any drafting done they [the Indians] would pitch in and burn and kill headed by our own citizens but the draft passed over and they departed. . . .

Thursday eve Nov 6 or something like it. . . . John is ploughing as yet. Ellis and me dug the taters and we all dug carrots. we have 75 bushel & 30 or 40 of taters. the rutabagas & round turnips me and the children have pulled. now if the corn was husked & cribbed I should feel as if I could sew a little. . . .

I went visiting to Earlville last Friday. was sick so I could not do much to home so went to see one of my neighbors that moved down there this Fall. came home on foot & alone after dark so you must know I was pretty feeble. It was the first time I ever set foot in town and seeing and hearing

the cars made me feel real homesick. I guess I would have sat down and cried if I had not been nearly in town when the train went along in the morning but I got quite used to it before night seeing them pass (its two miles to town).

John has sold 2 hogs at 2 cts per pound salt is 5 dollars and still rising cottong cloth $\frac{3}{4}$ very thin 20 cts sheeting 30 calico 20 but going to be 25 the next that is opened tobbaeco 1.50 tea 1.50 coffee $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb for a dollar thread 10 cts a spool cottong 25 cts. that makes me think where is the skirts coming from this winter. a calico quilt will cost a dollar and a half sure. needles is almost impossible to get. you can get crowbars and little short fine ones. I sent to Sarah for some but those she sent were too large. I want you to send me two or three. I will send you one the sise I want. I sewed with it ever since a year ago this time untill I wore the eye through as you can see. . . .

John will go looking [for] land when the ground freezes so he cannot plow and then after he gets straightened up perhaps he will come East by Christmas. that is if he can get work out there enough to pay his fare back. . . . I wish you would write me how much cotton yarn is a pound. sometimes I think I will send and get me a warp and weave me some cotton cloth myself. I can get rolls of woll [wool] here for 40 cts. I would like to make up some cotton and woll cloth for sheets &c if I could make it pay.

Earlville Jan 11th 1863

[John Kenyon]

. . . it is very sickly in this section of the country this winter. typhoyd fevers measles hooping coughf diptheria. Clara Ellis and Sis have the hooping Coughf. Some had it about six weeks. . . . Father he is trapping. caught 12 minks and about 50 muskrats. sold 9 of his mink for \$2,25 a piece. the rats are worth 25 cts a piece. produce is doing better than last fall and winter but that does not effect me any for I have none to sell. I only had 90 bushels of wheat 30 of oats and between 3 and 4 hundred of corn. I have not killed my pork yet. have 6 hogs to kill average 250. sold 2 in the fall weighed 798 at 2 cts per lb live weight and had one dollar for driving them to Nottingham. . . . I am going to butcher wednesday then I shall be lousey with money. I bought 11 shoats saturday give \$1,00 a piece. I have 16 more all together. . . .

[Sarah Kenyon]

. . . I suppose you are anxious for the Potomace and I for the Missis-

issippi. we heard here once that Vicksburg was taken. one fellow went to speculating in oats and lost 25 dollars in one afternoon. pork took a rise and there was quite a commotion for one day but the next days report contradicted it and things went on again as usual. If they only would open it [the Mississippi River] and not draft nor kill anybody they might keep their armies till doomsday and pay those big officers all they like. I would pay the losses and not murmur either if I could get but half enough to eat. we expected a draft in this state this month but we heard that Kirkwood [Samuel J. Kirkwood, Governor of Iowa] has given it up. thinks it would be worse than nothing. I think he is a man of sense for once. glad there is one in the programme. that fellow that left us for the war has skedadled. I always knew what patriotism there was in him lay not exactly in the seat of his breeches. . . .

Its nothing to joke about the way the wounded and dead are coming home here every day. a fellow was brought in to his folks dead a few weeks ago. the first they knew of it. I guess the young men will be scarce in the West the way they are slaughtered. John has been over to Beaches and they give him a pan of onions and he is eating them raw. its all the apples westerners have. I made dried squash pies soured with vinegar and call them dried apple pie. . . .

When they get the Mississippi open I shall write every week. I shall be so pleased but now every thing is so dull that I am all used up. Eggs are six cents now so I feel quite elated but store goods are awful. a spool of thread costs ten cents, calico, 18 cts. per yd salt more than pork a pound by half a cent. I never thought I should live where it would bother me to earn salt for my porridge. Pork 2 salt 2½. . . .

Jan 17th 64

[John Kenyon]

. . . I do not feel much like writing to night. I am so full I can scarcely stir without pain. we have been over to Father Ellises to day to eat our Christmas dinner. it was so cold that we could not get to it before and the way I played the knife and fork would did you good if you had not been to hungry your self that is if you had been there to seen me. we had turkey boiled ham stufing potatoes onions pickle tomatoes green apple pie mince pie and lots of *Doughnuts*. . . . we are going to have new years some time this week. . . .

. . . times are pretty good here now. evry thing brings a good price.

pork that weighs 200 — $6\frac{1}{2}$ cts 150 lbs \$5.75 under 100 lbs 4.75. beef 4 and 5 cts lb. wheat No. 1, 85 to 90 cts per bush oats 50 to 55 butter 16 to 20 eggs 23 for fresh and 17 to 20 for packed. my pork was light. the frost cut my corn and it would not fat pork. I have fed my corn out. now I will have to buy and pay fifty cents per bus. I have sold 18 hogs or pigs in size brought \$109. they weighed from 75 lbs to two hundred. I have sold a yoke of steers for 60 Dolls and 2 cows for 16 Dolls a piece. . . .

Earlville March 2nd 1865

[John Kenyon]

. . . we have a very pleasant winter here just snow enough to get around good. I have been in the timber what time I could get a cutting and hauling wood and post and rail timber. Ellis has been with me two trips. he drives the oxen and I the horses and we make it count two load a day. we have two or three snow storms for the last two or three weeks then turned to rain. we had two as big freshets as we very often have here carrying away bridges and mill dams &c. It cut the race out twice on our mill dam. we have a mill about a mile from us [that] we call ours. built this summer and winter and just ready to start when this first freshet came. I suppose they are grinding by this time. it makes it quite handy for us or it will if the water dont take the dam away every day. we formerly went to Manchester Dyersville Hartwick or Bensons mills. it is some ten or twelve miles quite an item in distance.

there is quite an emigration West this winter and spring. they have ben a moving all winter most evry day. you will see them with their covered wagons horses oxen cows and young stock going West & north west some to the Missouri river some to Kansas and Nebraska territory and a great many of them stop in this state out in the western part where the coal & evry thing else is found that is valuable. I suppose you have read of it on your paper as the English say. I will send you some Iowa papers if [I] can get them that has got the coal and petroleum blow in them. they talk some of starting a petroleum Company in Earlville. it is all you can hear now a days. . . . there is a good many that is going to Idaho this spring from around here. they will go with oxen mostly from here. some go with mules and horses. I have not had the fever much yet but think I should if Uncle Sam makes another call for half a million or less. we are out of the last draft and thousands ahead for the next if they make one.

the market prices is rather on a decline. wheat \$1.00 per bus. Oats

45 cts barley \$1.25 corn 45 to 50 in the ear 76 lbs to bushel. rye none in market. pork 12½ cts dressed beef 5½ ct on the foot butter 25 cts eggs 15 cts Doz beans \$1.50 cts bus sorghum \$1.25 to \$1.40 per gall. working oxen \$100 to \$150 pair cows 25 to 40 dolls each Horses from 2 to 400 Dollars a pair hay tame 15 Dolls per ton prairie hay 6 or 7 Dolls per ton.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society has added 176 new members during October, November, and December, 1959. The following were elected Life Members during that period: Dr. Earl H. Antes, Evansville, Indiana; Dr. R. M. Conney, Sergeant Bluff; M. V. Henderson, Jr., West Union; John Rider Wallis, Dubuque; James C. Addison, Des Moines; and Mrs. Lillian Erritt, Ottumwa.

Members of the Budget Committee of the Iowa legislature were entertained on a cruise of the Mississippi on the *Addie May* in October. The cruise was preceded by a tour of the points of interest in Keokuk and a dinner at the Keokuk Country Club.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

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|--------------|--|
| October 6-10 | Attended annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History and the Society of American Archivists at Philadelphia. |
| October 28 | Conducted tour of Keokuk for the Iowa Budget and Financial Control Committee of the Fifty-eighth General Assembly. |
| October 29 | Conducted a historical tour of the Mississippi between Keokuk and Nauvoo for members of the Budget and Financial Control Committee. |
| October 30 | Attended the Mississippi Parkway Planning Commission meeting in the Governor's office. |
| November 4 | Attended dinner of Iowa Schoolmasters' Walt Whitman Club in Des Moines. |
| November 7 | Spoke to Budget and Financial Control Committee on progress of the Centennial Building in Iowa City. |
| November 16 | Served as master of ceremonies and delivered address on foreign nationalities at the annual meeting of the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs. |

- November 17 Addressed annual meeting of the Iowa Mutual Tornado Association in Des Moines on the history of tornadoes in Iowa.
- November 30, Attended annual meeting of the Mississippi River Park-
December 1-3 way Association at New Orleans.
- December 28-30 Attended annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago.

Iowa Historical Activities

State Historical Society Superintendent William J. Petersen spoke at the annual meeting of the Cedar County Historical Society on January 14.

Impetus for the organization of a Clay County Historical Society has been given by the Rev. James E. Parker, who has promised to will his home in Spencer to such a society for a museum.

Miss Estella Baden of Guthrie Center was named chairman of the Guthrie County Historical Society at their January meeting. Mrs. Gertrude Guy was named vice-chairman, and Mrs. Gladys Kasner, secretary-treasurer. Members of the board of the society are Miss Elizabeth Whitman, Miss Rachel Revel, Roy Stacy, Charles Henderson, and Miss Elizabeth Hudson.

Officers elected at the annual meeting of the Monroe County Historical Society January 19, 1960, are: James Foster, president; Mrs. D. S. Humeston, vice-president; Robert Larson, secretary; and Edmond Morris, treasurer. The society has 87 members, including 18 life members.

Plans are under way at Keosauqua to organize a Van Buren County Historical Society. A meeting was held on January 27 for those interested in the project.

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COVER

Surgeons at work during a battle. From *Harper's Weekly*, July 12, 1862.

AN IOWA DOCTOR IN BLUE:
THE LETTERS OF SENECA B. THRALL, 1862-1864
*Edited by Mildred Throne**

Seneca Brown Thrall, a native of Ohio, came to Iowa in 1856. The son of a doctor, he had studied at Kenyon College in Ohio, at Starling Medical College in Columbus, and had graduated from the University of New York. In 1856, at the age of twenty-four, the young doctor and his bride moved to Ottumwa, then a village of less than 1,000 population in Wapello County, Iowa. There he began a practice which lasted until his death in 1888.¹

In 1862 Dr. Thrall was appointed assistant surgeon of the 13th Iowa Infantry² and had joined the regiment at Corinth, Mississippi. Mimeographed copies of his letters to his wife during his army service, from September 19, 1862, to May 5, 1864, have recently been acquired by the State Historical Society of Iowa, and are here reproduced with the omission only of strictly personal material.

Dr. Thrall gives little detail of his medical practice while in the army, but his comments on army life and experiences are interesting as those of an educated man with good descriptive powers and a healthy sense of humor. The last letter in the series is one written by the surgeon of the 13th Iowa to Thrall, after the latter had resigned, describing the experiences of the 13th Iowa in Sherman's Atlanta campaign.

LETTERS OF SENECA B. THRALL, 1862-1864

Corinth, Mississippi
September 19, 1862

Dear Wife,

I arrived here last night at 9 oclock. The 13th Regiment with others had been ordered from Bolivar to this place and I learned at Jackson, Tennessee they were here.

*Mildred Throne is associate editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

¹*History of Wapello County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1878), 597; *Ottumwa Courier*, Jan. 29, 1935.

²*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* . . . (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908-1911), 2:564. Hereafter cited as *Roster and Record*.

I left Keokuk Sunday morning arrived at St. Louis on Monday morning. Left down the river Tuesday eve and arrived at Columbus, Ky, Wednesday eve. Took the cars Thursday morning and here last eve. This morning I started to find the camp of my Regiment. I found it by noon two miles south of Corinth. The sick and convalescent, those unfit for duty numbering about 100 men were left in camp. The Regiment is near Iuka, some 25 miles south, where nearly all of Gen. Grant's army has been moved during the last few days.³ The army is there without tents or baggage and a battle expected every day. As soon as I can find positively where my Regiment is, it will be necessary for me to go to it and shall do so tomorrow, taking my rubber coat only.

I am likely to be initiated into the mysteries and miseries of war upon my very first debut — sleeping upon the ground, wrapped in my rubber coat. I have taken my baggage to the camp. There was nothing there to eat (officers have to furnish themselves), the Quartermaster was sick and everything in confusion, myself, a perfect stranger, and so I came back to the "Tishimingo House" to eat and sleep tonight. I have seen today Lt. Mobley, 2nd Iowa and Lt. Hedrick, 15th Iowa.⁴ They are sick but walking around. All able to go are out to the battle. . . . Wapello County will be well represented in next battle here, the 2nd, 15th, and 17th are out. . . .

There is nothing here but soldiers and Negroes. It is amusing to see the latter, large crowds of them are at all depots at Cairo, Columbus and all along the road. Cotton bales are scattered all along the line of road to this place. I have seen enough of the source of all evil, *Cotton* and *Niggers*.
. . .

³ The 13th Iowa, after participating in the battle of Shiloh on April 6-7, 1862, and in the advance on Corinth, which was evacuated on May 30, 1862, became a part of the 3rd Brig., 6th Div., 13th Army Corps. The brigade, composed of the 11th, 13th, 15th, and 16th Iowa under command of Col. M. M. Crocker, remained intact to the end of the war. On Sept. 12, 1862, the brigade was at Corinth, but within a few days was ordered to join Gen. W. S. Rosecrans at Iuka, some miles to the east. Here, on Sept. 19, the day Dr. Thrall was writing this letter, the battle of Iuka was fought. The 13th Iowa did not participate, being held in reserve. The regiment then returned to Corinth. *Ibid.*, 2:555-6.

⁴ Lt. John E. Mobley, Co. K, 2nd Iowa, of Ottumwa, had been wounded at Shiloh and discharged for disability Aug. 20, 1862. Since he was still in camp in September, his discharge orders had evidently not yet reached him. John M. Hedrick of Ottumwa, originally 1st lieut. of Co. D, 15th Iowa, had been promoted to capt. of Co. K, Feb. 13, 1862. He also had been wounded at Shiloh, captured and paroled. Hedrick rose to col. of the 15th Iowa and was brevetted a brig. gen. in 1865. *Ibid.*, 1:179; 2:954, 962.

Corinth, Mississippi

September 22, 1862

. . . My Regiment is not here yet. I started to go to them on Sunday, but was directed to remain here as the Regiment would be here today, but today I learn it is at Iuka. I am ordered to stay here, however, and shall do so until ordered to do otherwise. There was a battle about 20 miles below here last Friday about 400 of our men killed, wounded and missing. The 17th Iowa was engaged, the 16th, 5th, 13th, 15th and others did not become engaged in the fight.⁵ . . . I heard that they brought some 80 of the wounded here today. There are ten thousand rumors here and I presume more is known of what has transpired at the north than right here. . . .

A horse is something that I have *got* to have and I have been trying to get one today. I want to get one without buying and I may do so, that is, get one of Uncle Sam's to use, though it is against the rules, yet many do so.

I am staying in Major Van Hosen's⁶ tent, am not yet fixed up upon my own hook. I am *messing* in the Hospital yet, though will have to arrange it some other way, when the Regiment gets together. . . .

[n. d. — after battle of Corinth
on Oct. 4-5, 1862.]

We are in camp on the ground the Rebels occupied in the attack on Corinth. Large trees are around us, cut off by our cannon balls and shell, branches shot and hanging, tops lying all around, splintered and broken, shells unexploded and fragments of shells are lying on the ground. 50 feet from my tent are the graves of four Secesh. Graves are scattered all around through the woods. We are a mile west of Corinth. We may leave before daylight, we may stay weeks. We know nothing about it. I do not even know as much about the battle as you probably do. . . .

I went into town this morning and who do you suppose I found. Mr. Hawley, he takes the vote of the Iowa 2nd Cavalry, also Dr. Hughes, Dr. Lambert and a number of others that I met with in Keokuk, come to see after the Iowa wounded. The pay of all doctors in Keokuk Hospital has

⁵ The 5th, 10th, 16th, and 17th Iowa regiments took part in the battle of Iuka. See Mildred Throne, "Iowans and the Civil War," *The Palimpsest*, 40:403 (September, 1959).

⁶ George M. Van Hosen of Davenport. Mustered in as capt. of Co. E, 13th Iowa. Promoted to major, Apr. 17, 1862. *Roster and Record*, 2:701.

been reduced to \$80 per month. I should have been dissatisfied had I remained.⁷ . . .

In camp near Corinth, Miss.

Sunday eve, October 12, 1862

We are back again once more to Corinth. Marched back in two days, Friday and Saturday.⁸ . . .

I have been fairly initiated in the art of war; here three weeks, on the march all the time and in a battle of two days. Marched night and day, heat, *suffacating* clouds of dust, rain and mud, bright moonlight, beautiful nights, and dark, rain miserable. Friday noon it commenced raining, rained hard all the afternoon and drizzled all night and we marched on till 9:00 o'clock p.m. I could not see the horse ahead of me or the man trudging along at my side in the rain and mud. We camped on the banks of the Hatchee river, no tents, low bottom land, wet soldiers wet and miserable, our trains behind, nothing to eat, and did not expect them to come in; but they did. The soldiers built *large* fires, dried themselves, got their supper and went singing, "Ho boys, Ho; ain't you glad you jined the army, ho boys ho, etc." Slept on the ground on their oil cloth blankets, called up at 3½ o'clock a. m., and onward march. I put two sick men in the ambulance and then fastened the seat up above them and I *sat* up in the ambulance out of the rain, gum coat on and dry. I have been fairly initiated. The men say they have had a harder time during the past month than ever before.

I *never* felt any better, have an appetite like an Anaconda, have felt some times as though I could swallow a hog whole but when it really came to the scratch I was satisfied with a piece of side meat (sow belly the boys call it), one or two quarts of coffee and some crackers, and without any joking it tasted fine, when you are hungry, and I have relished such a meal as well as I ever did any place. Tonight I am in my own tent, things fixed up and quite homelike. . . .

In camp near Corinth, Mississippi

October 19, 1862

. . . We have been in this camp a week last night. It is a very pleasant

⁷ Thrall had served as surgeon in the military hospital at Keokuk before being appointed to the 13th Iowa. *History of Wapello County*, 597.

⁸ The 13th Iowa had taken part in the fruitless pursuit of the Confederates after the battle of Corinth, returning to Corinth on the evening of Oct. 11, 1862. *Roster and Record*, 2:556.

place, rolling ground in the green oak woods, shady and pleasant, in day time, free from dust. Pup tents up, ground cleared nicely and pleasantly situated, have enjoyed it. I have my tent near the hospital tents, as more convenient for me, though the proper place for it is in line with those of the field and staff officers. The Colonel told me to have my tent moved into its proper place but I have not done so, and he has said nothing about it since. I have a very nice little tent, carpeted with old bags that had grain in. My cot on one side with sheets, pillow and blanket, fixed up as nice and clean as you please. An empty barrell stands at the head of my cot on which are books, candle, matches, water and etc., makes a very useful if not ornamental stand. A rope stretches across the top of my tent on which hang any coats, towels, etc. My mirror hangs at the head of my bed, fastened by a loop of thread into the side of my tent, on the opposite side from my bed, two stakes are driven into the ground, a board nailed on and I have another stand, a box with papers and then my hand trunk on some boards to keep it off the ground.

We receive the daily St. Louis and Chicago papers the second day after publication and this week we have really lived. I am sitting in my tent in my shirt sleeves (a clean shirt) and *white* collar on with slippers on, boots nicely blacked, two camp stools to sit on. Can you from my description form an idea of the internal arrangements of my *house*? I am up in the morning at 5 oclock, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 have Surgeon's call, that is, the sick who are able to be about, and stay in their tents and also those who are lazy and do not want to work, consequently report themselves sick, are brought to my tent by the Orderly Sergeants of each Company. I have a fire just in front of my tent, set on my stool with my feet to the fire, call off their names from the lists handed to me, and prescribe, and either mark them off duty or on, as I decide at the time. A clerk sits at my side, keeps a record of every case and my prescription. The soldier takes my written prescription to the next tent where is the Hospital Steward who gives him the medicine.

We have during the past week had an average of 45 report at Surgeon's call. I prescribe for them in about an hour, have an average of 24 marked off duty each day. The remainder I considered able for duty and so marked them. The clerk makes 3 copies of my morning report, one goes to the Regimental Adjutant, one to Brigade Headquarters and one to Gen. McArthur's Division Headquarters. They all have to be in by 8 oclock

a. m.⁹ Immediately after Surgeon's call I eat breakfast. Have during the past week lived well. I bought a bushel of potatoes, $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel of onions, 2 lbs. of good butter at 50 cents per lb., a luxury I can no longer afford, but it was the first I had tasted for a month. Have good baker's bread, coffee for breakfast and dinner, tea for supper, have had ham, fresh beef, tomatoes, cucumber and tomato pickles, etc. After breakfast I visit and prescribe for those sick in hospital, have only had three this week, and then visit those sick in their tents and not able to come to Surgeon's Call, sometimes none, sometimes two or three. Usually my day's work when in camp as now will be done by 10 oclock a. m., then I can read, write, visit and I go to bed at 9 oclock p. m. During the past week I have been busy trying to get some men discharged. I examined and made out the discharge papers of 32 men. Sent the men with their certificates to the Medical Director who examined the men and *approved every one of them*, which is here considered quite a compliment. The papers have been sent to Gen. Grant who always signs them when approved by Medical Director, so that there will the next week be sent from this Regiment 32 used up men that will no longer trouble me. It is the first time anything of the kind has ever been done in this Regiment and raised quite an excitement. I had over a hundred men apply to me for discharge. I have thus given a hasty glimpse of my daily avocation. What do you think of it? It has been slightly different from the preceeding three weeks which was march, sleep on the ground, eat hard crackers and pork, and in battle for 2 days.

Last Thursday night upon one side of my tent about 30 feet from it were 20 or 30 men, holding a prayer meeting (we have a Captain and Sgt. who are Methodist preachers) they could be heard singing and praying all over camp. In front of my tent and not more than 60 feet from the Prayer Meeting was a hilarious and noisy set of men surrounding some "Niggers" who were singing Negro melodies, beating Juba, playing on the banjo, etc. A little to one side another noisy, swearing crowd telling stories, etc., 'twas a singular medley. I remained in my tent, moralizing and thinking what odd creatures men are and upon the varieties of human nature surrounding me.

The days here during the past week have been as pleasant as possible, warm, not hot or oppressive, the nights however are cold. I use almost as

⁹ Brig. Gen. John McArthur, commanding the 6th Div., 13th Army Corps.

much coverings as I do in the winter. I have two blankets or rather one army blanket cut in two blankets and must get me another double blanket. I have a large blue army overcoat which I wear in the early morn and at evening and lay over my bed at night. I sleep comfortable though the majority of men and officers complain that they do not. About 3 or 4 oclock a. m., it becomes very cold and I would certainly expect, were I in Iowa, and felt the cold so much, to find the Demoiné frozen and the boys skating. Here there is no sign of frost, the leaves on the trees are green, just beginning to change in places to brown and yellow.

Yesterday afternoon I rode over to the camp of the 22nd Ohio, spent the afternoon with Homer [a relative from Ohio] and took tea with him and the Colonel of the Regiment, as they mess together (Homer is Lt. Col.). We had oysters, potatoes, tomatoes, griddle cakes, bread, coffee, ham, and finally a bottle of Still Catawba. We can live you see when we are situated as now, but a "soldier's life is *not* always gay," notwithstanding the old song, yet while it is gay they make the most of it. The 22nd are about a mile from us in the same Division of the army as the 2nd and 7th Iowa, though those two Regiments are now detached and are at Rienza [sic. Rienzi, Mississippi] about 12 miles from here, so that I have not seen Capt. Mahon¹⁰ and our Ottumwa boys of those Regiments. Lt. George Blake¹¹ Co. K, 2nd Iowa, used to be in Daggett's Store was mortally wounded in the battle. Others from Ottumwa were killed and wounded though none that you know that I know of.

You would be astonished to see me eat. You have seen me sometimes when I was hungry eat my *pile*, well, I eat that way now every meal and then quit hungry. I do not know what I would do if I was to eat till I was satisfied, if such a thing would be possible. I am brown and sun-burned, more than I supposed possible in so short a time, though my first three weeks, was an initiation that few have had. It was the hardest and roughest time the Regiment has ever had.

I have three times the life and energy that I had in Keokuk, feel any

¹⁰ Samuel Mahon of Ottumwa, capt. of Co. F, 7th Iowa, was later promoted to major and then to lieut. col. of that regiment. *Roster and Record*, 1:1005. See also John K. Mahon (ed.), "The Civil War Letters of Samuel Mahon, Seventh Iowa Infantry," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 51:233-66 (July, 1953).

¹¹ This is an error. George W. Blake of Ottumwa, lieut. of Co. K, 2nd Iowa, was wounded in the battle of Corinth but not mortally. He was mustered out of the service on May 27, 1864. *Roster and Record*, 1:113.

amount better, have not yet been at any time so completely tired, wearied and prostrated, as I frequently was there. This rough life has a singular charm and fascination, though I shall not express my own opinions untill I have passed into the wet, muddy winter and thus have seen all the elephant.¹² For the short time I have been in, I have seen a very large part, have had a varied experience, have marched day and night, by bright sunlight, moonlight, starlight, heat and dust, in rain and mud, in darkness seemingly palpable and impenetrable. Have heard the booming cannon, bursting shell, whistling ball, the incessant deep sounding roll of musketry, each separately, and again all combined in one indescribable, commingling, deafening sound, the falling branches, crashing trees, around me the dead, the dying, the wounded, the cowards leaving the ranks, flying past me, seeking safety, officers and men cheering each other on.

The dead on the field after the battle, digging of graves, the pursuit of a fleeing army, road filled with wagons broken and burning, tents, blankets, baggage of every description, yet I have not yet seen it all or have not seen and experienced it *long enough* to yet express a fixed and *permanent* opinion as to how I like it. I can only say that so far as I have got, taking it all in all, I am surprised to find that there is a something about it that I like. I may continue to do so, but I am much better satisfied here, mingling with and taking a part in the strife than I have been before since the commencement of the war.

There is work, there is excitement, you are constantly on the quiver for what comes next, the pulse is quickened, the brain is cleared of cobwebs, that have accumulated, in the hum-drum, quiet life of years past; yet I would prefer never to see another battle. I did not at any time think of getting hurt myself, or did not feel any fear. How it would be were I in the front ranks, I cannot say, and I have no desire ever to be there. . . .

It is difficult here to procure 3 cents postage stamps. When you write, send me a couple in each letter. . . .

I believe the most important thing for a soldier is ability to digest any food, in reasonable quantities that fortune afford him. I can do that to perfection and by the aid of Quinine, I expect to remain well. You know Quinine is my hobby. When sleeping out on the ground I took a pill night and morn as prophylactic. . . .

¹² To "see the elephant" meant to see or experience all the hardships of any situation.

In camp near Corinth, Mississippi
Sunday, October 26, 1862

. . . Last Sunday I wrote to you. I was then sitting in my tent in my shirt sleeves, enjoying myself hugely. Now to speak of the "Sunny South" seems a "goak," as Artemus Ward has it. I am now in my tent, my huge Cavalry overcoat on, buttoned up tight, its large cape enveloping my shoulders, my tent pegged tightly down, the flaps tied closely, to exclude as much as possible the wintry blasts and withall I set here shivering and writing. Yesterday morn, about 4 a. m., there was as sudden a change as we ever had in Iowa or Ohio. I awoke nearly froze, pulled the bedclothes over me, piled all my clothes, but in vain. I had to get up and go to a fire, where I found most all of the Regiment, at various fires, routed out before me, a cold damp wind and we expected a rain. In the afternoon I had my horse saddled and went down to town with an ambulance to get blankets and other hospital supplies for our sick. I had six in hospital.

I saw a pile of old tin. I had them throw a lot of it in the ambulance and today I have men at work building a *heating apparatus* in the hospital tent. About 3 oclock yesterday afternoon it commenced *snowing* and in a short time the ground was covered. The snow blowing in my face as I rode about, a cold wind, and it really animated me and my horse. My horse seemed surprised, he did not like to face the blast, but as I gently insinuated my spurs in his side, he sprang forward, snorting and kicking and then really seemed to like it. It snowed for several hours, and was laying upon the ground over $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep. The men say over an inch.

We eat under the top of a tent, which is called the fly, has no sides, simply the top, at supper the snow would cover our plates and our food. We did not have to wait long for our tea to cool. At 7 oclock I took a large pan of coals into my tent, fixed my bed, warmed my feet and tumbled in, as did everybody else. I slept comfortably, very few others did. Water in barrells froze a $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. I have acquired a habit of early to bed and early to rise. I have always been healthy and I expect to become *wealthy* and *wise*. Such weather for Mississippi and in October, the boys huddled around the fires renewed their song, "Oh, aint you glad you jined the army" etc. I have not got tired of it and really like it. My "hoggish" appetite continues and I feel physically as well if not better than I ever did in my life. . . .

Camp near Grand Junction, Tennessee

Thursday morn, November 6, 1862

I wrote you a note Sunday morning saying we had orders to move by daylight. We were ready, of course, but there were so many to start and as our Division (the 6th) was in the rear we did not leave our camp until 2 o'clock P. M. when we were marched out and on till late at night. It was 12½ o'clock at night when I got my supper. A grand movement of the whole army has commenced,¹³ nearly all the troops from Corinth, Bolivar and Jackson, numbering some thirty thousand are now camped in this vicinity, the troops from Bolivar and Jackson having met those from Corinth at this place. I have *averaged* about four hours sleep each night. My blankets in the morning are covered with frost and one morning I got the cook to give me a cup of water when he got up to get breakfast. I set it by my head on the ground and in an hour after when I got up it was covered with ice. The days are very pleasant, at noon uncomfortably warm, though morning and evening I wear my overcoat. The dust is *terrible*, enveloped in clouds for miles, it fills the mouth, eyes, ears and nose. I put my tent and hand trunk, cot and all my bed clothing in my hospital wagon and have it with me, notwithstanding orders. I make it a rule to carry my things wherever I go and shall do so whenever *possible*. I have everything with me except my books, *white* shirts, and I sleep on the ground as my things are packed away in the wagon. I keep warm and comfortable. We have fresh pork, beef, chickens, sweet potatoes, geese, which the men draw along the road. It is cooked along side the road, the dust seasons it well, but nobody here pays much attention to dirt. . . .

Tuesday night I witnessed a beautiful sight. The army was encamped in a large field. At 11 o'clock at night, as far as the vision extended, were the camp fires, the wagons, the horses, the men; the moon nearly full, bright clear, starlight. I walked to the highest point which from near our place overlooked the entire scene. It is seldom that an army encamps so as to afford such a view. Last night I saw another beautiful view. The army is encamped in the woods, off to our left is a large open space, dead trees standing thickly, the trees caught fire from our camp fires, some of them

¹³ This was the beginning of Grant's movements against Vicksburg, which were not to climax until the surrender of that city on July 4, 1863. Grant's first objective was to cut the railroad running east from Vicksburg. Therefore, he marched his army south, intending to reach the rear of Vicksburg by this route. See Throne, "Iowans and the Civil War," 407-408.

the fire was in the top only, others the extending branches were burning, others again the entire tree. *Thousands* of them burning, some falling every moment, the sparks and flames driven by a high wind filled the air. It was another sight that seldom occurs.

The country around here had beautiful, large plantations, immense corn fields, and a large amount of cotton, fine pleasant dwellings on a great many of the plantations. The country is rich and a *few* men are, or were, immensely wealthy; many are poor. The contrast from the country around Corinth, which is now a complete desert, made it appear to me much more inviting. The houses and lands were there, but the people around the fine residences we seldom saw, and then only females, children and old men. *Stragglers* from our army, worthless, trifling, *cowardly* wretches, and such stragglers usually are, have pillaged and *burned* all along the way. I saw not less than 30 or 40 houses burning and one large *church*.

I saw the fire just starting. I fell behind and put it out, yet it was afterwards burned. I saw the enclosures around graves, neat palings, burning and burned. I have seen soldiers with massive *silver* drinking cups, wine glasses, and china cups and saucers. Now such ruthless and wanton destruction and *stealing*, I entirely condemn. I have no objection to the army taking anything *useful* or *necessary* as food, forage and the General Commanding has threatened to have the men caught, shot and every effort is being made by officers to stop it. Such acts of vandalism are only perpetrated by comparatively few, yet it amounts to an immense amount.

My last week in Corinth was a busy one though I had not much to do in the Regt. as there is now a 2nd Assist. Surgn., a Dr. Morrison from Iowa City.¹⁴ As I have charge, I gave him the morning call, and *I laid in bed till they called me to breakfast*. I only attended to the sick in hospital, 4 to 6, made requisitions for medicines, hospital supplies, etc. I was only employed an hour each day in the regt. but went on commissions to other regiments to examine soldiers for discharge. In the 16th Wisconsin we examined a hundred men and gave 30 certificates for discharge. In the evening we would get a nice supper then go to our own camp. The commission was composed of the Surgeon of the 11th Illinois Cavalry, Surg. of the 14th Wisconsin Inf. and myself. The Regimental Surgn. of the 16th

¹⁴J. Crawford Morrison of Iowa City enlisted in the 13th Iowa as hospital steward. In May, 1862, he was promoted to "additional assistant surgeon"; on Oct. 8, 1862, to assistant surgeon. *Roster and Record*, 2:564.

Wisconsin did not like to render himself unpopular in his Regt. by refusing certificates to so many so he asked for a commission. I would never do so. I will give certificates of discharge when I think proper and necessary and otherwise I refuse. . . .

I have my tent up today to keep out the sun, use my medicine chest for a table and am fixed quite comfortable. The Colonel has a small tent right by the side of mine and there have been 15 to 20 officers lounging around our tents, laughing, joking and wishing they were either Colonels or Doctors so they could carry tents, whisky and other *necessaries* of life. . . .

Camp near Grand Junction, Tennessee

Saturday Eve, November 15, 1862

We are still in same camp, about four miles south of Grand Junction on the bank of a stream called "Davis Creek" not, however, named in honor of the illustrious Jeff, but because a man by the name of Davis has a mill on the creek. It is about 20 feet wide and from two to eight feet deep. It has been very pleasant for several days, quite warm during the day. All of our tents and camp equipage have been brought to this place and we are living quite pleasantly again. I suppose there is no doubt about the evacuation of Holly Springs by the Rebs and where or when we will go I have not the least idea. When I say *we*, I mean particularly our division of the army, the 6th, Gen. McArthur at present commanding. Gen. Grant is here. There are a number of divisions in this vicinity, around Lagrange, some six miles from here. Grant's headquarters are at Lagrange.

You asked me once how I lived. I have been messing with the hospital untill the last week. I would buy provisions (extras) which are not furnished by the army commissary to the troops, or at least not often, or large quantities as potatoes, onions, dried fruits, so that I did not, as many actually do, *sponge* my board from the hospital supplies; but we have now a mess of our own, which is much pleasanter, and then no one *can possibly* say we live on the hospital fund. Dr. Morrison, 2nd Assist., and myself (Dr. McKee Surg'n. is not here)¹⁵ hired a *white* man and mess by ourselves. We pay the man \$13. per month and board him. He is our cook and a first rate one, boot black, chamber maid, laundress and general ser-

¹⁵ Joseph McKee, of Washington County, surgeon of the 13th Iowa, had been slightly wounded at Shiloh in April, 1862, and had resigned Nov. 7, 1862. *Ibid.*, 2:564.

vant of all work. We spread a *white* table cloth upon the office chest, in shape just like a mess chest, it is in my tent, and we have large coffee cups though no saucers, a white sugar bowl, and altogether our table presents quite an inviting appearance. When our meal is upon the table and Roll, our man's name, tells us dinner is ready, if you were here you would see sweet potatoes, ham, dried peaches, Baker's bread, sugar, coffee, and for the past day or two, nice fresh *butter*, in all more than you were accustomed to cook for all our family. There is seldom much left when we get through.

Orders were issued the other day with reference to tents and baggage. The Field and Staff of a Regt. can only have 3 *small wall* tents, other *commissioned officers* and soldiers are to have only what are called shelter tents. I have never seen one, though they are *very* small and merely for shelter as the men must carry them. They fold up in small bulk and are light. The Surgical Staff will have one of the wall tents and also one of the 6 wagons allowed to a Regt. to transport [the] hospital and consequently it will not affect me personally very much. They are rapidly reducing the army to fighting weight. The army is not in as good spirits and as cheerful as they were before the elections.

A very large majority of that portion of the army that I am with, and able to judge of their opinions, are *unqualifiedly* in favor of *any* and *all* measures for the vigorous prosecution of the war. A *very large* majority endorse the President's Proclamation on emancipation. They regard it as a military expedient and necessity to crush out the rebellion, and are in favor of its enforcement. The heavy vote in the Northern states, especially in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, evidently opposed such prosecution of the war. The election of men whose antecedents prove them to be at least sympathizers with the South; the heavy vote which such men as Vallandigham of Ohio, Sherman of Illinois, Mahony of Iowa, and the possible election of Jesse D. Bright in Indiana,¹⁶ to the Senate, all prove the strength of the opposition at home, and it is a common saying here that if we are shipped, it will be by Northern votes, not by Southern bullets. The army regard the

¹⁶ Clement C. Vallandigham of Ohio, Francis C. Sherman of Illinois, Dennis Mahony of Iowa, and Jesse D. Bright of Indiana were Democrats — classed by Republicans in these years as "Copperheads." All were defeated in the 1862 congressional elections, but in the country as a whole the election cut into the Republican majorities in Congress and was considered a defeat for Lincoln's policies. James G. Randall, *Lincoln the President, Springfield to Gettysburg* (2 vols., New York, 1945), 2:232ff.

result of the late elections as at *least* prolonging the war; as giving to England and France *just* cause of interference, and if by any possible means a compromise should now be effected, that it would only be a temporary peace. They, almost to a man, are in favor of putting the thing through while they are at it and not leave the work to be done over again in a few months or years. The army is in favor of the emancipation message and views, not because they favor abolition of slavery, or the freedom of the negro, but because the Rebels use them as essential aids to their cause, because it is their vulnerable point and because the nigger is the alleged, and simply, only the *alleged*, yet *not* the *true* cause of the rebellion. . . .

Sunday morning, Nov. 16th . . . Uncle Sam has not paid the troops in this Dept. for over four months. In 3 days more, he will owe me 3 months pay. When he pays and when we are where I can get a photograph taken, I will send you one. I can get none here. I am almost penniless, have only one dollar left. Uncle Sam keeps a *big* store here and *trusts* so I will have to go on *tic*.

When we are in camp, we lead a lazy humdrum sort of life, though very pleasant in fine weather. I read considerable. In St. Louis, I bought "Grays Anatomy" \$7. I have nothing but medical books to read. We have but very little sickness in our Regt., less than any other here. We have *none* sick in hospital and only 10 off duty in the Regt. of over 500 men. It is the result of the discharges made at Corinth. I discharged some 32 there, and now as a consequence our Regt. has the least sick of any in the Brigade. Thursday night one of our men shot the thumb of his left hand, supposed by his *comrades* and by his officers that he did it *intentionally*. His hand rested on the muzzle of his musket and was terribly torn. I took off[f] the thumb and metacarpal bone of thumb and made quite a decent hand out of it.

I yesterday saw some of the men playing chess. I went over to them and took a game with one of them, and beat him. He said he would bring a man that could play better and he thought could beat me; the man came. He, I found to be a brother of Coppic,¹⁷ of John Brown notoriety. He is a very intelligent man, is a Corporal in our Regt. I beat him, however, at chess, which leaves me the best chess player in the Regiment. . . .

The drums have just beat for *church*. Capt. John Elrod, a Methodist

¹⁷ Joseph L. Coppoc of Benton County, 2nd corp. of Co. G, 13th Iowa. In 1863 he was promoted to capt. of Co. D, 8th Louisiana Colored Infantry. *Roster and Record*, 2:592.

Preacher, and Capt. of Co. I. is going to preach.¹⁸ I will close and go to church. . . .

Camp near Grand Junction, Tennessee
November 23, 1862

We are still here in this neighborhood, though we moved our camp the other day about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile to get upon higher ground out of the mud and water. We were upon the low bottom land, right upon the bank of the creek. It rained for a couple of days and there was some appearance of an overflow and an involuntary cold bath. We are now upon the side of a hill. My tent and the hospital tents [are] near the top and for the past two or three days the weather has been very fine, the days warm, pleasant and at noon for three or four hours, quite warm. The nights, however, are and I suppose always are cold. I got another double blanket day before yesterday and use as much bed clothing as I would in Ohio, though we do not have any feather bed to lay upon or even straw. . . .

I have but little to do now, though I now also have charge of the company of cavalry, Gen. McArthur's bodyguard, Co. G, and the 11th Ill. Cavalry. I prescribe for them at 9 o'clock a. m.

We have now none in hospital and only 6 off duty in the Regiment; that for 500 men is as healthy as they would be at home. We are encamped on a plantation that has been cultivated for many years. We are in the "timber" (an Ohio man would say woods) just in the edge of the cleared ground, so that it seems like a prairie. All the fencing has been burned and for the past few days they have had Division drill four hours each day. A Division (ours is the 6th Gen McArthur) is composed of three Brigades (ours is the 3d Brigade, Col. Crocker commanding), each Brigade is composed of four Regiments. There is also a company of Cavalry as Body Guard for the General, also a section of 6 guns of a Battery attached to each Brigade.

The Division then is composed of 12 Regiments and about 24 guns (Artillery). There was plenty of room for drill and you may read in some of the papers *rose colored* accounts of the drills of the *General* and his *Staff*. I went out one day and found it like most everything else, distance lends enchantment to the view. The Division was drawn up in line of battle. The batteries stationed and supported by regiments upon each side of them.

¹⁸ John Elrod of Washington, capt. of Co. I, 13th Iowa. On Nov. 19, 1862, he was promoted to chaplain of the regiment. *Ibid.*, 2:606.

They would alternately advance and retreat, charge bayonets, advance and form new lines of battle, change their front, then cannon with six horses attached would go tearing at full gallop across the field, suddenly halt, unlimber their pieces, be ready to fire, etc. It looked very well it is true, but I should not be surprised to see in the "Cincinnati Commercial" some high flown account that it would be difficult to recognize the original.

I saw in a late Commercial (the 13th I think) a panegyric upon Gen. McArthur that everybody here laughs at and ridicules. Today they are now having an inspection of the wagons, ambulances, horses, mules of the Division, also of the Regiments, the men, the condition of their guns, clothing, etc., the whole Division is out.

I do not know how much it is going to cost me to live here and cannot tell except by trying. I suppose it will be *about* \$25.00 a month. You need not be uneasy about not being able to pay our debts. Uncle Sam *now* owes me about \$340, *when* he will pay I do not know, but anxious inquiries are made for the Paymaster, and if I stay in the army four months longer I can pay all I owe, especially as I expect to receive more pay soon — \$160. per month.

Dr. McKee's, the Surgeon, resignation was accepted. I wrote immediately to Gov. Kirkwood [Samuel J. Kirkwood, Governor of Iowa] for the commission and I think I stand a fair chance to get it. I will unless he has some politician to give it to, or Colonel Crocker has some particular friend he wants to have it. The Medical Director recommended me for promotion, also Colonel Hillis¹⁹ of the 17th Iowa gave me a very strong letter to the Governor, also Lt. Col. Shane²⁰ who commands our Regiment. Colonel Crocker who is Colonel of the Regt. and can have whoever he wants appointed, commands the Brigade as acting Brigadier General. Col. Crocker does not like me very well. I did not happen to show him sufficient deference. I did not report myself to him when I joined the Regt., and did not for some 3 or 4 weeks present to him several letters of introduction which I had. When I did call upon him, he asked in an authoritative tone of voice why I had not done so before. I answered because it was neither *required* or necessary, that I reported to the officer in command of the Regt. which

¹⁹ David B. Hillis of Keokuk, lieut. col. of the 17th Iowa. Promoted to col., Sept. 4, 1862. *Ibid.*, 3:14.

²⁰ John Shane of Vinton enlisted as major of 13th Iowa; promoted to lieut. col., Apr. 17, 1862; to col., Mar. 13, 1863. *Ibid.*, 2:563.

was the only proper place for me to report and that I did not think it necessary to present any letters of introduction as I did not think much of such letters anyhow. We of course parted not very well pleased with each other.

He refused to recommend me to the Governor but said he would *not* interfere in any way. If he does not I think I shall get my commission as Surgeon. If I do not get it, I shall get out of the service *if I can*. I have had charge of the Regt. all the time I have been with it, and now I want the commission and the pay of Surgeon. I said nothing to Col. Crocker myself, but he told Lt. Col. Shane that he would *not* ask the Gov. to give me a commission, though he would not interfere to prevent it. The Medical Director also asked him to recommend me to the Governor and when he declined to do so, the Med. Director did it himself, so that my chance is good if Col. Crocker *really does not* interfere. It may be several weeks yet before I know the result; such things move slowly. Dinner is ready and I must stop to eat as we have an extra dinner today: boiled mutton, soda crackers (not the hard army crackers), butter (I bought 2 pounds at \$1.00), cheese, pickles, dried apples stewed, molasses, sugar and coffee. It was an agreeable change from fat pork, hard bread and coffee which has been our only diet for the past few days. I have unbuttoned my vest, pants and drawers to give the apples room to swell. . . .

I have lost my horse and will have to get me another which is no easy matter down here. Horses here are like niggers, mighty uncertain property. Whisky is rather hard to get down here and we have not had a drop in the Regt. for 10 days and I do not drink an ounce a week. My appetite is good and I feel first rate. There is an order that a Surgeon who drinks or gives to Regimental officers to drink the hospital liquor shall be dismissed, a good and necessary order, lately issued. . . .

Camp near Grand Junction, Tennessee

Thursday noon, November 29, 1862

We move in the morning, in all probability, as I have just received orders to send my sick to General Hospital No. 1 at Lagrange. I have sent two only, the other Regiments by my side sent from 6 to 12. I went to Lagrange yesterday to see the place. It is a beautiful place, many fine residences with large yards, beautifully improved, the houses of a modern style of architecture, the chimneys inside, in this country they are generally upon the outside. There is a vast amount of wealth in the town, the wealthy planters have their own residences there.

Our Thanksgiving dinner consisted of fried ham, onions, soda crackers and molasses. Just as we had finished dinner a man came into camp with a *wagon load of bread*. I bought six loaves for 70 cents and ate a loaf just because I wanted to see how soft bread tasted and whether it was hard on the teeth. It was the first bread for nearly a month and probably will be the last. I weighed yesterday 152 pounds; used to weigh 137, so you can see camp life agrees with me. The weather has been very fine though it freezes water every night. I filled a bed tick with dead leaves and with my blankets had a first rate bed. When we stop I shall try it again. We probably go to Holly Springs first and the impression in camp is that we are bound for *Vicksburg*, away down in the land "ob cotton, cinnamon seed and sandy bottom."

I expect we will have a hard march and it is rather cold to wrap up in a blanket and take it on the ground these nights, though I am getting used to it and sleep first rate when I have to do it. Orders have come to prepare to move. The next order will be *Move* and it may come in an hour, though we do not expect it till morning, but I must see to the hospital tents, medicines, cooking apparatus, etc., and then to my own things and be ready. . . .

Six miles south of Holly Springs, Miss.

Monday morning, December 1, 1862

Friday morn we left camp near Grand Junction, ordered to carry seven days rations. The day was cloudy, cool, rendering an overcoat very pleasant all day. Men had to carry their knapsacks, blankets, guns, etc. road in fine condition, neither dusty or muddy. It was the hardest days march our Regiment has ever had. We were up at 4 oclock a. m., ate breakfast by candle light, loaded teams and started at 8 oclock.

We marched till about 8 oclock p. m. then had to stop for 3 hours only, eat supper (I had crackers and boiled ham in my haversack) we started again and went four miles further. I laid down to sleep at 3 oclock a. m. Saturday morn was up and routed out our cook and had warm coffee, while it was yet so dark we could not see to cook or eat without a candle. Started Saturday morn as soon as it was light enough to see. Our Division, Gen. McArthur's, leading the advance of the whole army, our Brigade leading the Division, and our Regt. leading the Brigade. None were ahead of us except cavalry and some light artillery as advance guard. We passed through Holly Springs at 10 a. m., our band playing "Dixie." Holly Springs is the best and largest Southern town I have yet seen. I will tell you more of it at some other time and incidents of our passage through.

About 4 miles out from town we heard the cannon and musketry of our advance skirmishers. We were ordered *forward* at *quick* time, and in about 15 minutes came up to where they had been firing. One of our men (of 3d Michigan Cav) was lying by the road, dead, and three Secesh by his side, their graves already digging. They were buried in less than 1/2 hour from the time they were well and living. We passed immediately on. Our advance skirmishers driving in their pickets. We came in sight of them once. I saw them about 1/2 mile ahead, we halted for the army to come up, stopped 2 hours, then advanced about a mile, and camped in the old camp of the Rebels. Our teams did not come up till Sunday morn. Yesterday the cannon were ringing every little while. The enemy are found to be in force about 5 miles ahead, prepared to fight and dispute the passage of the Tallahatchie river.

There is going to be soon a severe and terrible battle, probably tomorrow if not sooner. We have here nearly all of Grant's army. The whole country is covered with men. I do not know how many, probably 25,000, possibly 50,000.²¹ We have our tents up. Last night it rained very hard, Saturday was one of the finest and most pleasant days I ever saw. Today it is cold. I am wrapped in my overcoat, hands so cold I can scarcely write.

Yesterday while the cannon were constantly booming and occasionally we could hear the prolonged roll of musketry, I was in my tent busily engaged in making out my monthly report. Everything moves in the army just in clock work and a few guns does not disturb the equanimity of old soldiers though it excites somewhat the new troops who are here. The old troops joke the new ones *roughly and hard*. The new ones cannot endure the marches. They, you know, were paid a bounty of \$100.00 to enlist. The old ones call them Bountyites and we would see many of them lying by the road side, shoes and stockings off, footsore and completely exhausted. The old ones as they passed would call out, what regiment, the reply was generally 95th Illinois, 103d Illinois or some other new regiment. Then the old soldier would call out derisively, "Halloa, Bounty, hard work to earn that \$100, aint it? Aint you *glad* you jined the army? I say, old boy, I will tell you how to keep your feet from getting sore." The new one looks up, eye brightens, he thinks he is about to receive the benefit of the old one's experience, and asks how. "Wrap that \$100. around your feet." But the new

²¹ Grant had 30,000 men with him in this expedition. *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885), 1:423. Hereafter cited as Grant, *Memoirs*.

ones are pretty sharp, they finally have beat the old ones out. Yesterday several large, fine new Illinois and Indiana Regiments marched by us to camp just beyond us, the guns were booming away in the advance, full new Regiments as large again as ours, bright buttons, new clothes, all shining and gay. "What Regiment?" "400th Illinois, got our \$100. in our pockets (slapping their hand on their pocket), going down here to the Tallahatchie to Price and Van Dorn. Do you want to borrow a green back (that is a treasury note)." Our boys were beat. The joke and the laugh were constant, and frequently gems of genuine wit were darted out by some dirty, dusty looking soldier. . . .

I will write as soon after the battle as I have an opportunity. We are bound to whip them is the general feeling of officers and men. The soldiers are feeling well and ready for the fight. I intend to keep as far out of the way as is consistent with my duties. My curiosity with regard to a battle has been entirely satisfied, and I should desire never to see another.

Abbyville, Mississippi

Wednesday Morning, December 3, 1862

I wrote to you on the 1st we expected a severe battle, but the Rebels evacuated their fortifications on the Tallahatchie and Monday eve at sundown our Division marched forward 8 miles to their old fortifications and to the river and halted till morning. They had the best and strongest fortifications our men and officers say that they have ever seen them have. They are supposed to have 40,000 *effective* men.²² We could not have taken the place (it is so said here in camp), but Gen. Steele from Helena, Arkansas, marched in south and cut their southern rail road connection, and Gen. Sherman advancing from Memphis to flank them, and near at hand, and we in front.

We have a very large army, I think 50,000, but had they remained and we attacked, our loss would have been *terrible*, and we would certainly have been defeated. As from my own view of their position and entrenchments, I do not think it possible that we could have succeeded. They destroyed the bridges and it took all day yesterday to fix a bridge and cross our Division of the army (Gen. McArthur's) and we are now waiting for the rest of the army to cross and come up with us. We are at Abbyville, a small village on the railroad. Gen. Grant has his Head Quarters here, came in late last night.

It commenced raining about 4 oclock Tuesday morning and rained all day

²² Grant estimated that the Confederates had about the same number as he had — 30,000. *Ibid.*, 1:423.

yesterday. We were up and got breakfast in the rain by the light of our campfires and were in the rain all day and nearly all night. This morning is clear, beautiful and pleasant day. I have my tent up, had it up about 1/2 hour, a stove just at the mouth [of] my tent (camp stove), my bed clothes, overcoat are hanging out in the sun to dry, and will be all right by night again unless we have to march which we may do at any time. Any moment the drums may beat the call to "fall in." I was eating supper Monday eve, not thinking of moving, when the drums sounded, and when they sound to "fall in," now everybody has to spring.

The Rebels burnt the depot here with a large amount of army stores, as tents, provisions, guns, etc. They were yet burning when I got here. Several hogsheads of sugar and molasses, bacon were saved. One of our men has just brought in two prisoners. They were brought to the Colonel's tent. They are very intelligent looking men, but worthless scoundrels, I know, as they said they got tired and did not care if they were taken as they wanted to go home anyway. They were privates of the 33d Mississippi. We have just such worthless, *cowardly* scamps in our ranks, so that it proves nothing as to the disposition of the people here for peace. They (the Northern press) may say what they please, but the people here are as nearly unanimous for war, as the people can be on any question.

I told you in my last letter that we heard the guns of our advance guard all day, expecting every moment to be ordered forward. Monday we did not hear them, and did not understand why (I did not), untill at sundown we were marched out to the river and compelled to stop, to build a bridge, the river here is about sixty feet wide and 4 to 6 feet deep. A Cavalry Regiment swam their horses across and pushed on to annoy their rear guard. A bridge was built, just the width of an artillery wagon, and one of our batteries taken across, by hand, leading the horses over, then more cavalry lead their horses over, then our Brigade crossed over, then the other Brigades of our Division, and by that time the bridge was so broken as to need repairs.

We were marched to this place where Gen. Price²³ had his Head Quarters Monday. Our ambulances and wagons could not cross the bridge. We got here about noon and just at evening I rode back 4 miles to the river to see about my ambulances. They did not get across untill late at night and it was nearly morning before our teams came in. It was mud and rain all day.

²³ Confederate General Sterling Price.

I was completely *plastered* over with mud, though my gum coat kept me perfectly dry, and with my coat and gum blanket²⁴ before a log fire, I slept dry and comfortable (at least I slept soundly for some 4 to 5 hours) on the wet and muddy ground covered from the mud by a pile of wet leaves. I am feeling first rate and have not even taken cold. . . . I like the rough life, though we have had it *rather too rough* for the past few days, still I should feel uneasy at home. . . . Orders to move.

Eleven oclock p. m. Wednesday eve. — have moved — such is a soldier's life. I had my tent put up this morning about 1/2 past nine oclock, had the hospital camp stove (as we had none sick in hospital and no tent up), and appropriated to my own use the stove, washed myself, got on some clean clothes, commenced to write this letter, my cot up, and my tent fixed as comfortably as ever, had eaten a very good dinner of fried mush and had commenced to write again, when suddenly the drums sounded and orders came to move in 1/2 hour. I kicked the stove over, threw a bucket of water on it, and in less than 1/2 hour my things were in the wagon. We came on two miles and about dark camped, and it is supposed we will stay here at least a couple of days. We may go in 1/2 an hour.

My tent is again up, a large log fire burning *brightly* in front of it. My cot and everything fixed as though we had lived here for a week. I have a large hospital tent up, a little back of my own, and two sick men in it (so that I have lost my stove). Have had supper and am ready to stay or go, just as it happens, though I would a little rather stay tonight. This is certainly a fine country.

We begin to see how the aristocracy of the south live at home: fine, large, airy houses with porticoes on all sides, with fine yards. Everything looking so comfortable and pleasant, only that at those houses we seldom see any one but Negroes or women. The men are all gone. As the Niggers standing by the road side near such dwellings say, when you ask him where his master is, "Oh, he gwine ober de oder side ob de Hatchie. I spec you found him dar, if you want to see him." We found the place where he had been, and I for one am very glad he was not there. Holly Springs is more like a Northern county seat town than any I have yet seen. It has a large public square with business houses on all sides of it, something like Fairfield, Iowa, only the houses on the square are very much better and is closely built up, like

²⁴ A "gum coat" and "gum blanket" were coats and blankets made of rubber.

Bellefountain or Newark. Off from the square are any number of *beautiful* residences. It probably had a population of some 3000 to 5000.

The streets are full of *citizens* with scowling faces, and *females* stood at front doors and windows watching us pass through. Niggers with a broad grin on their faces were the only smiling ones seen out of our ranks. Our band at the head of the regiment fairly threw themselves away on "Dixie." It was one of the most beautiful days I ever saw, the troops keeping step to the music, marching lively forward. Occasionally some of the females would speak, "You Yankees will come *running* back this way in a day or so," or "You wont look so fine and gay when you come back this way," or "Genl. Price will be happy to see you gentlemen." We were in the advance. They had no idea then that it would take 3 *days* for that *squad* of Yankees playing Dixie to pass through their little town. They must have thought that the whole Yankee nation was coming to take tea with Price. Oh, how they must have felt while that *apparently interminable* procession was passing through. As our regiment passed, their countenances seemed to express satisfaction that Price would soon send us running back; but, as hour after hour and day after day that army "went marching on," hope seemed to die away in their breasts, their doors and windows were closed to shut out the sight of the "ruthless invaders."

From Corinth to Grand Junction we *were* truly *ruthless* invaders, but *not* so since. I no longer see burning houses, fences, barns and churches. Sweet potatoes and fresh meat are a rarity upon our *tables*. No longer is there burning and pillaging. So severely have some been punished that the soldier no longer dares to fire a building or enter one for the purpose of theft.

In passing through Holly Springs, I saw several females in houses at doors or windows or in the yard that I was surprised when I noticed their hair to see that they were Negroes. Negroes? Were they Negroes? They were slaves, but they were white. One in particular was standing with several Negro or Mulatto women and children in the yard of a magnificent place. She had a white babe in her arms. She was a beautiful woman. I and others around me noticed her and supposed her to be the mistress, the lady of the house. Imagine our surprise when a Mulatto fellow, a servant in our Regiment, went laughing and shook hands with her. Bets were immediately made and taken that she was a white woman — not a slave. Our Mulatto came on in a few moments, when a dozen men called out "Bill, was that your 'old mistress'?" You ought to have heard the darkies laugh and seen them show

their eyes and teeth as Bill replied, "What dat dar woman what I spoke to, why she is a Nigger, yah, yah, yah." I saw more *white* "Niggers" in Holly Springs than I ever saw before. I have seen a Mulatto woman with two babes in her arms, both nursing at the same time, one baby white, her mistress's babe, the other her own, a black one. Shall I send you a wet nurse?

Thursday Morn

December 4th 9 oclock a. m.

Slept well last night making up for some lost time during the week. Have had breakfast. Fried mush, ham, butter, sugar, coffee. Had Surgeons call before breakfast, prescribed for 15 men, and put seven of them off duty for today. It is a dull, cloudy, damp cold day. The front of my tent is wide open, a large fire in front; with my overcoat on, I am quite comfortable. Some 200 men are at work sweeping up the leaves, clearing off the brush, etc. We are immediately back of an old camp of the rebels, one they left only a day or two ago.

Lt. Col. Shane told me this morning that Col. Crocker told him yesterday that Dr. Thomas²⁵ of Keokuk had been appointed Surgeon of our Regt. I presume it is so. If it is so, I hope he will get here soon as I do not want the care, anxiety and *heavy responsibility* of the place unless I get the pay, and if he comes now he will find Jordan a hard road to trammel; and he may get sick of it. Even now, he will not have as difficult a task as I had, for I took charge of the regt. with no one to assist me or *show* me the *manner* of doing things. Were marching for two or three weeks, and in one of the severest battles of the war. Thomas is quite a decent clever fellow, though he murders the "Kings English" in a terrible manner; he spells head "hed" and toes "tose." If he does not carry his hed and tose straight or puts on airs, he will "come to grief." . . .

In camp near Abbeville, Mississippi

Tuesday morning, December 9, 1862

. . . This division of the army (McArthur's) has been left here; other divisions have passed us. We were in the advance, I do not know where we are now or where the rest of the army is or anything about it. We have a very pleasant camp. I have a brick chimney and *fireplace* in my tent and have been resting this week. The ground freezes considerably every night, thaws out during the day.

²⁵ Moses W. Thomas of Keokuk, appointed surgeon of the 13th Iowa, Nov. 24, 1862. *Roster and Record*, 2:564.

I sleep finely and warm on a tick filled with dead leaves, have a warm fire built before I wake up, and then get up and dress by the fire. You know that pleases me. It would be of no use at present to try and send a box per express. Some of our officers have boxes now on the road that were started from Iowa last October. They will probably find us if we stop long enough in one place, but when that will be is extremely problematical. I would like very well to have the Christmas dinner, but will take upon that day whatever turns up. For the past few days we have been living on fried mush or corn meal batter cakes, beef and coffee. . . .

Near Abbeville, Mississippi
December 14, 1862

. . . We are still here very comfortably fixed in camp. Other divisions of the army have gone past us below Oxford, towards Granada and Jackson. We no longer are in the advance. The indications at present are that we shall move forward on Tuesday next. I wrote you on the 1st, 4th and 9th giving you a history of our march to this place, and how nearly we came to a big fight. I will enclose some letters of professional correspondents describing the same. I happened to be in the advance and saw and heard what he relied upon the statements of others for, as he must have been with one of the rear divisions. Our Division (McArthur's) is in the left wing of the army, commanded by Hamilton.²⁶ Friday last 4 companies of our Regiment were detailed to go back to Holly Springs as a guard over 700 prisoners, recently captured. . . .

Monday morning, December 15th — It rained considerably last night. What this army does this winter it has got to do soon, as a few rain storms will certainly render the roads impassable. There are at present no indications of our moving tomorrow, yet I presume we will this week. It is a dull, cloudy day and raining every little while, raining now quite hard. I have just shut the front door to keep out the rain. It has been quite warm for the past few days. I slept last night with but one blanket over me. We keep a little fire in fire place, but with the tent shut up it is uncomfortably warm and close.

Our sick list has increased considerably for the past 3 days have had 25

²⁶ Gen. Charles S. Hamilton commanded the left wing of Grant's army, Gen. James B. McPherson the center, while Gen. W. T. Sherman was at Memphis with the right wing at this time. *War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records . . .* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Part II, 364. Hereafter cited as *Official Records*; all citations are to volumes in Ser. I.

to 30 attend Surgeon's Call, and have two in hospital, one case of pneumonia, one of typhoid. I learned the other day a little more about the appointment of our Surgeon (who, by the way, is not here yet). Colonel Crocker was not to blame as I was told, but Lt. Col. Shane who commands the Regiment. (Crocker commands the Brigade). Col Shane *pretended* to be and *told* me that he was anxious for me to be appointed, at the *same time* he was using *all* his efforts to have a particular friend of his appointed. Crocker was anxious that a *friend* of his should have it, but I *believe* he did not interfere *actively* for him. Shane acted the part of a liar and a hypocrite, but he did *not* succeed in getting his friend in, he simply prevented my receiving it. Gov. Kirkwood had *promised* me the place, so between Crocker's friend, Shane's friend and *myself*, he split the difference and took neither. The part Shane played was not on account of *disliking* me, but on account of his old friend. He does not know that I know the despicable part he played. . . .

Holly Springs, Mississippi

December 24, 1862

. . . Thursday, December 18th we left camp near Abbeville, marched south through Oxford and camped Friday afternoon eight miles south of Oxford. Oxford is a very pretty place. The state university is located there, large fine buildings which we used as hospitals. Saturday our camp was full of rumors concerning Rebels in our rear, the burning of Holly Springs, the capture of Jackson, Tennessee, and of everything else nearly by the Rebels, but we knew nothing definite only that our rail road communication with the frozen regions of the north was cut off.²⁷

We received orders Saturday night about 11 oclock to march by daylight Sunday, the 21st. We took the back track and Monday evening after dark halted here, 40 miles north, where we are now camped. It is just in the outskirts of Holly Springs about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from the Public Square. Now for what has happened, though you probably know more about it than I do. Saturday morning, Dec 20th at 4 oclock a. m. about 6000 mounted Rebels dashed in to this place and captured it in about 15 minutes without the least trouble. The 29th Illinois and 101 Illinois Regiments were here and were taken prisoners and paroled. They did not try to fight. The conduct of the

²⁷ On Dec. 20 the Confederates under Gen. Earl Van Dorn attacked Holly Springs, in Grant's rear, capturing the garrison and destroying Grant's supplies there. Gen. Nathan B. Forrest meanwhile had cut the railroad between Jackson, Tenn., and Columbus, Ky., cutting Grant off from communication with Sherman. Grant immediately reversed his march and returned to Holly Springs. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:432ff.

officer commanding the post (Col. Murphy) was perfectly disgraceful.²⁸ He had abundant warning of the attack and yet permitted his men to be completely surprised. Two or three companies of cavalry were also here, but they fought like tigers and cut their way through the Rebels and nearly all escaped. We had an immense amount of Quartermaster, Commissary and Hospital stores here, said to be over a million dollars worth and was probably nearly *two* millions. The Rebels burned all that they could not carry away upon their horses, and the north side of the Public Square, the best part of the business portion of the town is burned, destruction of individual property of residents, immense.

I described our march through Holly Springs as we passed south. It is the prettiest town I ever saw. I walked over part of it this forenoon. There are *very* many *magnificent* residences with grounds about them perfectly beautiful, evergreens beautifully trimmed and every indication of unbounded wealth. I did not see but two or three citizens in a walk of two hours. They are gone, the males to the army the females *shut* themselves up in their houses and are invisible. When the Rebels came into town many of the women rushed in to the streets in their *night gowns*, cheering and waving their handkerchiefs to their soldiers — perfectly natural.

Sunday and Monday's march was the hardest on our Regiment that we have had. We were the rear guard, the baggage train was nearly three miles long, and we were behind to protect that and bring up the stragglers. We were up Sunday morning at 4 oclock and did not get into camp untill 12 oclock at night, then had to get supper, go to bed on the ground and were called up at 5 oclock in the morning, started at daylight and marched untill 8 oclock in the evening, making some 40 miles march with only 4 hours sleep. It was not so with any but our Regiment, the rear guard.

As we passed through going south *all* our bands were playing, our flags flying, everything *gay*, when we came in Monday eve, the bands in advance of us were silent, till our Regiment came in, when, though we had had the hardest part of the march, had been on the road 35 hours, the flags were unfurled and the band struck up "De Lincum gun boats come dis way," the streets were full of soldiers who cheered with a will, and hundreds called out, "What Regiment is that? Bully for you" etc. . . .

It is Christmas Eve. I would hang up my stocking only that for the past

²⁸ Robert C. Murphy, col. of the 8th Wisconsin Infantry, was dismissed from the service for his negligence at Holly Springs. *Official Records*, Vol. XVII, Part I, 515-16.

4 or 5 nights I have not taken them off at night, in fact have not taken off my clothes for the past five days, untill this morning, when I took a general wash and clean clothes. I intend however to undress tonight and go to bed again like a white man.

I have an invitation to a Christmas dinner tomorrow from a Surgeon in charge of one of the hospitals here so if we do not move, I shall go. The weather has been delightful for the past few days. The days comfortably warm, we have no fire in our tent, and with a thin coat on I am comfortable. It freezes slightly at night, though not near so cold as it has been. Dr. Thomas (the newly appointed Surgeon) arrived last Thursday morning. He thinks "Jordan is a hard road to trammel and wishes he hadn't gone and done it." He is dyspeptic, and has vomited up about $\frac{1}{2}$ of what he eats. The stomach (digestive power) is the *thing required* in the army and mine *might* digest lead provided it did not come in the shape of bullets. The only thing I am dissatisfied with is that I did not receive the commission, as I should have done, and would have done but for the lying and treachery of Col. Shane, for which I hope to be even with him for, some of these days. . . .

Holly Springs, Mississippi

December 28, 1862

. . . We are comfortably fixed again with chimney to my tent and etc. The troops had *wheat* instead of coffee issued to them the other day. We still have enough coffee to last a couple of days, when we, the doctors, will also have to come down to wheat. All the mills in the country are kept constantly at work, night and day and Sunday, grinding corn, as nearly all our supplies were burned by Rebels at this place. Corn meal is at present the staple.

Christmas, I took a Christmas dinner with several other Surgeons. We had upon the table beautiful and costly *china* plates, cups, saucers, cut glass highly ornamented goblets, preserve dishes, etc., in short, it was the nice costly dishes of one of the wealthiest families of Holly Springs. Their residence, now used for a hospital. We used their dining room table, dishes, Negro waiters, *cook*, *preserves* as figs, peaches, apples, pears, cranberries, etc. and I had the first real nice meal since I left Keokuk. You know I have a *slight* partiality for preserves and sweet meats and the way we "pitched in" was a warning to everybody that has such things likely to fall in our way . . .

Sunday morn, January 4, 1863 — We are $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile south of Lafayette,

Tennessee. Left Holly Springs on the 30th, came here on 31st. Have received no mail for a number of days. Have an opportunity to send this to Memphis this morn, if Rebels do not catch it, you may receive it. . . . We are 35 miles east of Memphis. Numerous guerrilla bands surround us, so that it is dangerous to leave camp to travel around the neighborhood. It rained yesterday very hard. . . .

In camp at Lafayette, Tennessee
January 7, 1863

. . . We now have the cars running daily (for past three days) from Memphis and will probably have daily mail soon, if Guerrillas do not succeed in obstructing the road. There was 15 postage stamps in one of your letters which came *in very good time*, as I had already borrowed 8 or 10 stamps and they are difficult to get now, even if you have the money. . . .

I have got another pony now. (A Mexican mustang) black and very pretty, one that some Rebel rode into Holly Springs when they captured it. One of our soldiers confiscated it and I bought it from him for \$15.00, am to pay when Uncle Sam pays us. So I have a horse of my own again and if I lose it, it is not much lost. Dr. Thomas has lost his horse that he started down with, one worth over a hundred dollars. My pony at home would be worth about \$50.00.

You need not fear that I suffer any for want of a warm bed and a warm room or any of the necessities of life. You would be astonished to see how comfortable we fix ourselves in a very few hours. Now have a board floor, brick chimney, bed tick filled with corn husks covered with blankets, just as nice a bed as I should ever want, sleep warm, have plenty to eat, beef, pork, sweet potatoes, coffee, sugar, flour, corn meal, etc. When we are on the march and camp out nights, I can wrap up in my blankets and on leaves or corn fodder or what ever is convenient, lay down and sleep as warm and comfortable as need be and *really* do not suffer any privations at all. The life agrees with me. I like it and am fleshier and heavier than I ever was in my life, so that you may dismiss all uneasiness on my account.

. . .

On board Steamer, Arago, Memphis,
January 20, 1863

. . . We came on board day before yesterday and here we are yet, every moment expecting orders to go. I, yesterday, sent a note by Major Van Hosen to be mailed as he went north. The Major has resigned and

goes home. Capt. Madison,²⁹ 15th Iowa, has resigned and goes home. Lt. Porter³⁰ will now be Captain of the Company. Capt. John Hedrick of 15th Iowa is recommended as Major of 15th and will soon receive his commission. His brother will then be Captain of Co. K, 15th Iowa.³¹

Capt. Madison was the ranking officer and should have received commission as Major, but in war, as well as in love, "kissing goes by favor."

. . .

As to the final result of the war, I entertain very much the same opinions I always have, that is, I think there will be two distinct governments, the union dissolved, the south will be successful.³² We (the north) have vindicated the principle that there can be no *peaceable* secession, that secession is revolution. I am not surprised that the inefficiency of our leaders both military and civil is causing such luke-warmness in the minds of the people, both at home and in the army. The idea of arming and equipping Negro Regiments for the purpose of making them soldiers is, to my mind, *worse* than ridiculous nonsense. Niggers will *work* if you make them do so. I do not believe you could pick out one thousand Negroes out of 50,000 who would *fight* with *loaded* guns, or who would not run at the first appearance of danger.³³ I believe the larboard ox is on starboard side; starboard ox on larboard side, and that we are all going to the devil. How long it is going to continue, I have no idea.

Wednesday, January 21st — Stopped at Helena a short time. The 36th Iowa is here. . . . We were not permitted to land, though. Contrary to positive orders, I jumped ashore a few minutes to try and find some of Ottumwa friends in 36th. Did not see them and came near being left. The sun made its appearance this afternoon, the first time for several days. I

²⁹ Gregg A. Madison of Ottumwa, capt. of Co. D, 15th Iowa. Wounded at battle of Corinth, Oct. 3, 1862. Resigned Jan. 18, 1863. *Roster and Record*, 2:986.

³⁰ James S. Porter of Ottumwa, lieut., Co. D, 15th Iowa. Promoted to capt., Jan. 19, 1863; to major of regiment, Dec. 15, 1864. *Ibid.*, 2:1000.

³¹ For John Hedrick, see note 4. His brother, Thomas H. Hedrick of Ottumwa, enlisted as 4th sergt., Co. D, 15th Iowa, in 1861. In 1862 he was transferred to Co. K, 15th Iowa, as 2nd sergt.; later promoted to 2nd, then 1st, lieut., then to capt. of the company, Jan. 17, 1863. After being severely wounded at Atlanta, he was discharged for disability. *Ibid.*, 2:954, 962.

³² It is interesting to follow Thrall's changing opinions of the outcome of the war throughout his letters. As Grant's armies became more and more successful, Thrall's opinions as to the outcome changed.

³³ Contrary to Thrall's opinion, Negro regiments were used with success in the Union Army.

shall never forget our stay in Memphis, rain, snow and ice, tents without fire, mud inside and out, then snow 10 to 12 inches deep, then *severe* cold. I do not think we shall ever forget our forlorn stay in Memphis.

There are 18 Steamers transporting our division.³⁴ It is beautiful to see the long line of boats, loaded with men, slowly descending that vast river. Our Regiment is the most fortunate one in the fleet. It has one boat, we are not crowded, the men are comfortable and I have with Dr. Thomas a large roomy berth in the Ladies' Cabin. Everyone is envying the good fortune of the 13th Iowa. . . .

Friday 23d — Two oclock p. m. We have just reached the fleet and are now at the mouth of the Yazoo river, 10 or 12 miles above Vicksburg. The river is full of steamers loaded with men, some 40 or 50 steam boats are in sight, tied up to the shore. Several gunboats laying off in the river. It is a grand sight. Steam up, and I know not what moment we may go. We may be here for days. We may go in to the fight tomorrow. . . .

Saturday morn, January 24th — We have been on the boat six days and it has spoiled me for camp life and camp fare. It has seemed like a pleasure excursion, rather than a hostile advance upon a strongly fortified post. We have boarded on the boat. They have set a first rate table and I have revelled on *warm* biscuits, *good* tea and coffee, potatoes, cabbage, ham and eggs, preserves, pies, tarts, etc. I am *fat*. My coat won't button and my pants are too small. Our first week of camp life will go hard.

It is *rumored* through the division that we go down to cut the channel across the bend opposite Vicksburg. You will remember the canal commenced and talked about last summer. It is said, I know not how truly, that it can now be done (the river is high and rising) and Vicksburg left an inland town. I doubt it. . . .

Mississippi River near mouth of Yazoo
12 miles above Vicksburg
Wednesday, January 28, 1863

We arrived here last Friday, lay upon the boat untill yesterday morning, when we were ordered to go upon shore, unload everything and camp. We are upon the Louisiana side of the river, where marks upon the trees,

³⁴ Grant was now moving his army to the western side of the Mississippi, opposite Vicksburg, preparatory to building the ill-fated canal, which was supposed to carry his troops south of Vicksburg. For Grant's account of the canal, see Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:447ff.

fences etc. show that occasionally, at least, the whole country is inundated. The Levee here is about ten feet high and wide enough for a wagon to drive upon its summit. The Levee extends for hundreds of miles, even now, in many places the water is higher than the surrounding country.

It is low, flat swampy country, yet the banks of the river are in many places adorned by *handsome dwellings*, surrounded by *neat-looking* Negro cabins, the steam sugar refinery, stables, outhouses, and etc. giving a single plantation the appearance of a small village. It was strange, as passing down the river upon each side, the flat low country extending back for miles, thickly covered by timber and brush resembling cane brush, looking as miserable and uninviting as any land could, when suddenly you see an improved plantation appearing like a rich oasis in the midst of a desert.

It rains without any effort and for several days it was "drizzling" continually with a heavy fog. Yesterday it cleared up and last night there was quite a hard freeze. The ground froze and upon the ponds there was a thin ice which the warm sun this morn quickly dispelled. I have been riding around today without any overcoat. It is clear and beautiful, yet it may rain in a few hours, roads are impassable for teams, except along near the Levee. Our Regiment was ordered away yesterday morning with two days rations and left upon a Steamer, went up the river, I do not know where, or for what purpose. I was left in charge of the sick as we had some twelve or fourteen sick, four *very* sick, the result of our weeks stay in Memphis, in rain, snow and cold without fires in our tents. . . .

There is a *vast* amount of sickness here, many of the new Regiments having only three to five hundred men fit for duty, when a short time ago they had 1000. *Many* are dying and thousands more will if they stay here two months. We had a mail today, the first since we left Memphis. I did *not* receive any letters and I believe it has given me the "blues"; that, and the annoyance of moving sick from boat with no decent place to put them has decidedly given me the "blues." It rains so often and so easy, one of our hospital tents leaks, the ground, even the highest places, we can get is damp, soft and cold. I took possession of a *Negro cabin*, partially destroyed, though it has roof, floor and with two large fireplaces, fixed it as well as I could and have the sick in it. It is *quite comfortable*, yet at home at this season of the year, we would not think it fit shelter for a horse or cow. It is a dirty, filthy cabin (freely ventilated) yet the sick were *glad* to get in it.

What we are to do here I know not. You probably hear at the north about the *canal* they are digging to turn the river from Vicksburg. In my opinion it is a *grand humbug*. It is a *small ditch*, not properly located to effect its object, and is by officers and privates looked at with derision and laughter. The large majority who have seen it openly express their opinion that it cannot succeed and lose confidence in Generals that *apparently* waste time and *lives* of many men in such work, nevertheless it is generally considered to be a feasible undertaking, and one that *could* be accomplished by *properly directed* labor in the *proper locality*, neither of which is at the present time being done. At least, such is the general impression.

The army, officers and men, are discouraged, have no confidence in their generals, especially the commanding officer of this expedition (Gen. McClelland).³⁵ The feeling of the army is not what it was three, or even, two months ago. Many officers have resigned and many more have unsuccessfully tried to do so. It is exceedingly difficult to get a resignation accepted.

I am in a tent by the side of my hospital cabin. The Regiment will return in the morning, when we shall have to move again, about a mile up the river, to where the rest of the Brigade is. There are some cases of Small Pox in all the other Regiments of our Brigade, the 11th, 15th and 16th Iowa. We have none yet in our Regiment, and I think we are comparatively safe as I vaccinated over 800 of the men the last of October and first of December, as soon as I heard of Small Pox in the army. During the past month they have had 20 to 30 cases in 15th and 16th Iowa. . . .

Mississippi River

8 miles above Vicksburg

February 3, 1863

. . . We are still on the Louisiana shore about a mile above our old camp. We are doing nothing particular that I am aware of, only laying around loose in camp. Men from our Division are no longer detailed to work on that grand old humbug, "the raging *canal*," which is to turn the

³⁵ Maj. Gen. John A. McClelland, a thorn in the side of Gen. Grant for many months. A "political general" from Illinois, McClelland had tried to take over Grant's expedition. Realizing that both the army and navy distrusted McClelland, and that "it would have been criminal" to send troops into danger under him, Grant was forced to assume command in this sector himself. He could not, however, get rid of McClelland permanently until that general's lack of ability during the siege of Vicksburg made his removal inevitable. See *ibid.*, 1:440-41.

Mississippi from Vicksburg — in a horn. We are stationed upon what is called the extreme left of the army (that is, the left wing) consequently, our Regiment is the first one you see when coming down the river. Troops extend down the river for ten or twelve miles, away below Vicksburg. No troops have arrived since we came, though more are expected. There is a crevasse in the Levee about three fourths of a mile below us. Our Division is hard at work trying to mend it. We can not go down by land so that I have not seen the canal and do not know its present condition.

A Ram boat ran by Vicksburg yesterday morning. It was a wooden boat and one shell would have demolished it. The Rebs fired their large guns at it for $\frac{1}{2}$ hour, did not hit it. We in a *direct line* are about 4 or 5 miles from Vicksburg. The reports jarred the ground where we are, rattled the glass in a house next by and in the Steamboats near us. They were evidently big guns.

Among the new Regiments there is a *very great* deal of sickness and more in ours than at any time since I came here. We have 9 in hospital, 3 or 4 very sick. We have not had a death in our Regiment for four months. My own health is as usual, good. I guess I can stand it. A Major, Captain and three Lt. have resigned during the past three weeks and about all the rest would if they could. . . .

In camp on Louisiana bank,
opposite mouth of Yazoo River,
February 8, 1863

. . . It rains down here without the least effort, freezing quite hard some nights, ice forms $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch thick during a night. I went upon a "sight seeing" expedition yesterday with several of our officers. We got upon a Steam boat and went down the river some 4 miles to where the main body of the army is encamped. They have a much worse camping ground than ours. They are all in the mud and water, mud so deep six mules cannot pull $\frac{1}{4}$ of a load on a wagon. There is necessarily a great deal of sickness, much more than in our Division who are camped above the Crevasse in the Levee and on higher ground, though I thought we had a wet muddy camp untill I saw the rest.

I went down to the celebrated ditch which was to make Vicksburg an inland town. Water sufficient is passing through to run a skiff. It is a forcible example of the general inefficiency and incapacity which has marked similar "stratigic" moves upon our side. It is a complete failure

and will remain so and yet I think *could* be done by labor skillfully and judiciously directed.³⁶

I went below the ditch a mile and a half on the point of land opposite Vicksburg, had a very fine view of the city. With the unassisted eye, I could see the depot, engines passing through it, the court house with men (a signal corps) in the dome watching our fleet and the work on the canal, several beautiful residences, could mark the locality of several of their batteries and with a spy glass could see the sentinels near them. Saw several hundred cavalry passing down the river, the streets were apparently deserted, no one to be seen, though I have no doubt *when occasion* requires, there is plenty there. One of their batteries below town was firing at the men at work near the lower end of the ditch. We could see the smoke curl beautifully up from among the brush where the battery was, the loud report would follow and in a moment more the report of the shell as it would burst down towards our men. One of our guns would occasionally reply. We could hear our shell burst in the neighborhood of the Rebel battery. I had a spy glass a few moments, with it the Rebs appeared so close I was *half afraid* some ambitious Reb might try his *rifle* at our crowd of sight see'ers, some 8 or 10 of us. We were within easy range of several of their batteries though they knew we were just looking on for fun and it was really not worth while to molest us. As we came home the boat we got on happened to have some dispatches to Admiral Porter of the Gunboat Fleet, which lies a little up the Yazoo so that I had an opportunity to see the Iron and wooden gunboats, the motor [*sic.* mortar] boats, and Rams that lay there watching for a Rebel Ram, expected from the Yazoo. It will never come *while those boats are there*. No boat that ever floated could pass through there *now*. I do not think one could be built that could. I got home in the evening as tired as I have been for months, walking is decidedly not my forte. I had not walked as far in a day for a year.

We have orders to be ready to embark at a moment's notice. I *think* we go *up* the river, to Providence on the Louisiana side. My *private opinion* is that the siege of Vicksburg is abandoned for the present. I must pack my hand trunk, things in it have somehow got mussed up and I have to have it

³⁶ Grant himself had little faith in this canal project. The work was done "to consume time, and to divert the attention of the enemy, of my troops and of the public generally. I, myself, never felt great confidence that any of the experiments resorted to would prove successful. Nevertheless I was always prepared to take advantage of them in case they did." *Ibid.*, 1:446.

just so or I cannot get my things in. Write often. I wrote to Gov. Kirkwood telling him what I thought of the manner I had been treated, of the *deception* used by Col. Shane and that I wanted a commission soon as possible, mentioning Summers Regt. I enclose reply — all gammon, of course.

In camp, near Lake Providence, La.

February 14, 1863

. . . On the 8th I wrote to you and had just finished it when orders came to go on board the transports. Instantly all was in haste as it was late and was quite dark before we got all of our baggage on board. The 13th and 11th Iowa Regiments and 10th Ohio Battery were placed on board the steamer "Empress." It made a boat load, I assure you, though we (Dr. Thomas and I) had assigned to us a large pleasant State room in the Ladies' Cabin.

At daylight on the morning of the 9th we left from opposite mouth of Yazoo arriving here same evening. It is about 60 miles up the river from Vicksburg.

I spent the day coming up playing chess with Major Foster³⁷ of the 11th Iowa who has been considered the best chess player in the Brigade. I beat him five games out of seven, very much to his annoyance.

Lake Providence *has been* a very pretty village, a number of neat cottage residences surrounded by the evergreens peculiar to a southern clime gave it a very inviting aspect, two drug stores, a large hotel, three churches, etc. Just back of the town is Lake Providence, a beautiful lake about a mile wide and several miles long.

We are camped on the north bank of the lake about a mile above town, on the plantation of E. Sparrow, a Confederate Senator from La. (I think is a brother of the Sparrow, a lawyer in Columbus, Ohio) I have seen many beautiful places in the south, but none that surpasses this. A two story house with a large pleasant portico on two sides looking towards the lake and towards the river is surrounded by evergreens of all grades and varieties. Extensive flower beds are arranged in fanciful, grotesque, beautiful shapes with hedge-like borders of evergreens about six inches high, four inches thick, nicely trimmed, fragrant odors pervades the atmosphere in the front yard. 4 or 5 neat frame houses with porches in front are near the

³⁷ Charles Foster of Le Claire enlisted as capt. of Co. B, 11th Iowa, and was promoted to major of the regiment, Sept. 1, 1862. He died of wounds received at Atlanta in 1864. *Roster and Record*, 2:320.

dwelling for the *house* servants. A very pretty little cottage is a little to the left of the dwelling house built for and used as a Billiard Saloon. A billard table worth \$800 or a \$1000 was there. The grounds around the house constituting front yard are under this high state of *ornamental* cultivation, are not less than 10 acres upon the banks of this beautiful lake near and in plain view of the town and Mississippi river — all combine to make it the most charming, most delightful, most desirable “country seat” I have yet seen.

About 400 yards west of the house and up the lake are the *frame* houses of the Negro “field hands.” I have been told he worked on this plantation 125 Negroes. The large cotton Press and Gin is near the Negro quarters. He is said to have raised here 800 bales of cotton per year. He also owns another fine plantation about 8 miles west of here, where his family now is. Little did he ever dream that his beautiful place would ever have its present surroundings. The 11th Iowa is camped in the front yard among his beautiful evergreens. Our own Regiment is to the right of the house in the yard, my tent is about 60 feet from the house. Col. Crocker (commanding Brigade) occupies the dwelling house. Col. Chambers of 16th Iowa, and Lt. Col. Shane of our Regiment have each a nice house. Lt. Col. Abercromby of the 11th Iowa has his Billiard house, Col. Reed of 15th Iowa, the Overseer’s house.³⁸ The fences are torn down and used for wood. Yet the officers endeavor as far as possible to prevent injury to the trees, shrubbery, etc. Six or eight miles out are 150 to 200 Guerrillas hidden in the cypress swamps. Scouting parties of our men have had several slight skirmishes with them. They remind me of Marion’s men in the Carolina swamps in the Revolution.

What are we doing here? Spades, not bayonets, are the order. A *canal* is being dug to connect Lake Providence with the river. Design is to pass into Lake Providence with boats and gun boats, thence by canal into “Bayou Mason,” thence into Washita River, thence down into Red River, thence into Mississippi River *below* Vicksburg.

I think it probable that the water will *overflow* a *vast extent* of country, will *not* be confined to the Lake and Bayou, so as to give us a navigable

³⁸ Alexander Chambers of Owatonna, Minn., col. of the 16th Iowa. Promoted brevet brig. gen., Feb. 14, 1864. John C. Abercrombie of Burlington, lieut. col. of the 11th Iowa, became col. of the regiment, Aug. 7, 1864. Hugh T. Reid of Keokuk, col. of the 15th Iowa, promoted brig. gen. Mar. 13, 1863. *Ibid.*, 2:284, 895, 1071.

channel. It seems to me to be going a great ways around to accomplish what has failed under much more favorable auspices, nevertheless, I do not *pretend* to know anything about it. What I have seen at other places has been so little conducive to *faith*, that I cannot help thinking that our Generals know but little more about it than I do.

A rich country surrounds us. Since coming here we have had sweet potatoes, *honey*, chickens, fresh meat in abundance. There is only our Division here, it being the only one that left Vicksburg. We are in a much pleasanter and I think safer place. The 36th Reg't. is still at Helena. . . .

Nine oclock a. m., February 15th — It rained quite hard most all night. It rains very easy here. When you do not think of such a thing, it commences and comes slowly, steadily down. Do not have the *severe*, dashing storms of Iowa. We camped here on Tuesday last, that night it rained and in the morning the water was some 4 inches deep in our tent, the ground so level, it does not drain off.

My books were in a box on the ground and were completely saturated. I have had them under a press before the fire drying. I had fortunately placed my hand trunk on my stool and I was on my cot. We had a floor put in that day and now it may rain, we are as comfortable as in any house.

It begins to feel like spring, the grass is beginning to grow. Peach trees are beginning to blossom. I have not had an overcoat on this month, yet we hear the river is full of ice at St. Louis. The days when the sun shines are warm. I think our winter is about over. It is about like the middle of April in Iowa. . . .

Lake Providence, La.,
Feb. 20, 1863

. . . I have been leading a lazy camp life this week, but very little to do, so I read, sleep and play chess, by that means the time slips away almost before I know it. Occasionally when I can neither read, sleep or play chess, it is terribly dull. For three days and nights this week it rained without any intermission. It came steadily, constantly, easily down, making a very wet rain. Yesterday and today, it has been clear, warm and beautiful. In the mornings and evenings we keep a little fire in the fire place, though we have the front of the tent wide open all the time. Today it was too warm to walk about with my vest buttoned. There has not been much done here towards digging the canal here and I begin to think they are merely pretend-

ing to dig. They are however moving a small steam tug from the river into the lake, moving it on rollers by land.

They have set the niggers at picking cotton and are ginning and baling it in the gin and press near our camp. I was over today to see them work. The motive power is 8 mules, little darkies, 8 to 12 years old are the motive power behind the mules. Four little niggers were driving who seemed to have been selected on account of their comical appearance, grinning, laughing, singing, cracking their whips, talking to their mules, they seemed so perfectly careless and happy. Their Negro melodies so cheerful that they themselves did not know what care is. I am not sufficient of a mechanic to describe a cotton gin. . . . I laughed at the darkies, big and little, who all seemed to enjoy it, got covered with cotton, whereupon, they laughed at me.

I have got tired of sweet potatoes, chickens, ducks, etc. We have them every day. We have warm biscuits every meal, *not* so nice as you used to make . . . but I guess I eat about as many as I certainly prefer them to hard crackers. You need never offer a returned sick soldier any *crackers*. For the past week I have been eating warm biscuit, butter, honey, coffee, sweet potatoes, molasses, chickens, duck, turkey, beefsteak, tea for supper, coffee, breakfast and dinner, so you see we have been living *well*. I have a tick filled with hay so have a first rate bed and altogether am just about as comfortable as need be. I go to bed about 10 oclock and sleep like a top till morning, get up a little past six in the morning. If I do dream I very seldom remember them. . . .

Lake Providence, La.

Feb. 25, 1863

. . . If you receive yesterday's note before you do this you may be surprised at locality and date, since I said we were ordered immediately, in haste, on Steamer Maria Demming to carry 3 days rations. The 11th and 13th Iowa were sent on same boat. We knew not where or for what purpose, though indefinite rumors of a fight someplace and that reinforcements had been sent for in great haste. The orders came while I was re-reading your letter, about 3 oclock p. m. We were on board in a short time and off up the river. We went up 75 miles to Greenville, Mississippi where we found Gen. Burbridge's Brigade,³⁹ the 83d and 96th Ohio, 23d

³⁹ Brig. Gen. Stephen G. Burbridge, commanding the 1st brig., 10th div., 13th Army Corps. His command consisted of the 16th Ind., 23rd Wisc., 96th Ohio, 67th

Wisconsin, 60th and 67th Indiana, a Gunboat, our Regiments with another Gunboat arrived to reinforce them. They did not need any help so we turned around and sailed back, were gone from camp about 27 hours, had a pleasant trip in the river of 150 miles. It is the first time the 13th has ever had the good fortune to start with 2, 4, or 5 day's rations and get back before they had eaten them up. . . .

I was very glad that I received your letter before we started yesterday as I expected that we would probably be gone five or six days. . . .

We got home just in time this evening as it commenced to rain just as we landed and has been pouring down for the past three hours, the hardest rain storm we have yet had, and that is saying a great deal as it rains about $\frac{1}{2}$ the time, though when it does clear up we have one or two days of magnificent weather.

Feb. 26th, 9 oclock a. m. — I had intended to finish this last night so as to mail this morning, but found other work to do. The rain had tightened the ropes of our tent so as to snap the ridge pole, and we had to plunge out in the storm to find a rail to prop it up or have our tent down. Ridge pole propped up, ropes loosened, tent safe. We found the water coming through tent, leaking extensively. Oh, but the rain did come down, apparently in one solid mass. The sharp vivid lightning, instantaneous thunder would almost involuntarily make you think everything around was tumbling, broken and crashed to pieces. Our cots were moved around to find a dry spot but finally I gave it up and went to bed covering my bed with a rubber coat and blanket and was lulled to sleep by the patter of the rain on my bed clothes. It rained all night and is yet coming down hard as ever. I have never known so much water to fall in the same period of time, though our tent has almost ceased to leak and we can sit in and keep our things perfectly dry. Gen. Logan's Division came down here the other day and Gen. Quinby's will be here in a few days more, there will then be 35 to 40 Regiments here besides the artillery, 9 Batteries.⁴⁰

They have moved by land a small Steam Tug from the river into the lake, got it in last night and are still at work though not rapidly on the canal. There were 15 or 20 houses burned in Providence day before yesterday,

Ind., 83rd Ohio, and 60th Ind., plus some artillery and a detachment of the 6th Mo. Cavalry. *Official Records*, Vol. XXIV, Part I, 349-52.

⁴⁰ Brig. Gen. John A. Logan commanded the 3rd div., 15th Army Corps; Brig. Gen. Isaac F. Quinby, the 7th div., 17th Army Corps. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, Part II, 9, 59.

origin of fire accidental, in a house occupied by Negroes. The soldiers went to work to put out the fire and could easily have prevented the fire spreading but in running through the house that was burning, they found several Secesh flags and three kegs of powder, they left and let it burn. It was perfectly calm or the whole town would have burned.

Whew, how it does rain — the water is running in a stream onto my bed and *we have the best tent* in the Regiment. Nearly all of the soldiers and officers are drowned out, like ground squirrels out of their holes. I never saw it rain any harder. A number of the men are standing outside singing, "Soldier's life is always gay," "We won't go home till morning," etc. We are comparatively comfortable as we can keep things dry and have a large tent 14 by 15 feet and only two of us to occupy it, gum blankets on our beds. We set them in the worst places and keep the dry ones to sit in. The land is level, the water stands all over it, the tents look as though they were in a lake. I do not suppose you have ever seen such a long continued rain storm. Do not talk about its raining in Ohio; you don't know what it means.

I saw an amusing incident yesterday just as we left Greenville. About 200 niggers were there with bags, beds, old clothes, tin kettles, etc. Two or three planters, long blackhaired, proud, haughty looking men named Major Lee, Parson (I forget the other names) men who had undoubtedly been with the Guerrillas, were not at home when our troops first landed, they had splendid plantations, they came down to prevent their niggers running away. At least 40 Negroes came to me, hat off, "Massa, don you want a boy to take care of your hoss, black your boots, do anything you want, oh, Massa, take me with you, do take me with you." I told them all I thought they had better stay where they were and it is true. The soldiers soon saw what was up and just as the boats were shoving off, rushed between the niggers and their masters and with loud yells and shouts, as though driving cattle and hogs, started the darkies towards the boats. The darkies took the hint and broke for the boats like a 2/40 trotting horse, the soldiers politely touching their hats, said, "Good morning, Major Lee and Col. Parsons, we will take care of your cattle and if you are not at home the next time we call to see you, we will take the rest of them. You may lie to the General and pull the wool over *his* eyes, but you can't fool us; you were with those d—ed Guerrillas yesterday." I presume the boys were right, and they were Guerrillas. . . .

Lake Providence, La.

March 8, 1863

. . . We are still here in the same old camp, nothing to do and growing lazier every day. We have not remained in the same place as long at a time since I joined the Regiment. We have had very pleasant weather most all the week, some days unpleasantly warm. I lounge around my tent most of the time, reading, studying, playing chess. Occasionally, when the spirit moves, that is, when I am not too lazy, I take a game of "Alley Ball," or a ride around the lake on my horse. It is an easy, lazy sort of life that rather pleases me. I have just finished reading Dicken's "What Will He Do With It," the first novel I have read for a month. I intend as I have got started in that line to read "Queechy."

In one of my letters I described what a beautiful place we are in camp belonging to Gen. Sparrow. I thought then it was as beautiful a place as I ever saw, yet I have since seen prettier places, that is, yards equally beautiful and dwellings *much* more so, rendering them perfectly enchanting. In such places dwell, or *did* dwell, the Southern Aristocrat, surrounded by the luxuries of nature improved by the adornments of art, the obedient slave, the poor white trash crawl beneath him. He feels that he is *Monarch* of all he surveys, born to rule.

On Wednesday last they got the little Steam Tug into the lake, steam up, ready to sail. Major-Gen. McPherson and staff, Brig.-Gen. McArthur and staff, Brig.-Gen. Logan and staff, Col. Crocker, Ditzler and several other acting Brigadiers, a brass band, several — if not more — bottles of whisky, five young *ladies*, handsomely dressed, who, on account of the rarity of the article, appeared really pretty, filled one boat and away up the lake on a pleasure excursion. If they had enough whisky, they probably had a "grand old time."

I went on board a Gun Boat to examine the *critter* and there found Will Beach on the same errand. He is Assist. Surgeon of 78th Ohio. Our Regiments have been together several times this summer, but we never happened to meet before. He is at present detailed as Surgn. in charge of Small Pox hospital here. By the way, I guess I never told you that Dr. Morrison, our 2nd Assist., was left at Vicksburg in charge of 25 cases of Small Pox from this Division. Hitherto I have been fortunate enough to escape these plagued details. We have not yet had a case of Small Pox in our Regiment. The Inspector General of this "Army Corps" (the 17) was around a few

days ago inspecting the Brigade. He said the sanitary condition of this Regiment was the best he had ever seen. . . .

Lake Providence, La.

March 12, 1863

. . . Had received a number of telegrams per the grape vine line, a line which the Rebs cannot obstruct and which easily passes any blockade, so that we were not entirely destitute of news. For example, we had dispatches announcing capture of Port Hudson, evacuation of Vicksburg, capture of Yazoo City and a fleet of Rebel steamers and gunboats in the Yazoo River, sundry battles by Rosecrans army, and — that there was about to be a move on the Potomac. By the same line we heard of the capture by Rebs of the "Queen City" and the "Indianola," of victory of Rebs at Charleston, Savannah, etc. Truth and fiction were frequently strangely blended in despatches by grape vine. . . .

It has been raining considerably for several days, though we have got used to that. The canal from the river to the lake is finished. It is only necessary to open the Levee and let the water in. What is being done at the other extremity of the lake, I do not know and unable to give an opinion as to the probable ultimate success of getting from the lake into the Bayous and rivers beyond. The other day there was some talk of sending our Division through Yazoo Pass into the Yazoo River. I do *not* wish to leave the Mississippi River. The 36th Iowa is at Moon Lake in Yazoo Pass.

The officers of this Brigade met a few days ago, drafted some patriotic resolutions adapted to the present crisis (you will probably see them published). The resolutions were read on Dress Parade to our Regiment and *adopted unanimously*. The men are extremely bitter in denouncing the "Peace" men of the north, and indeed for my part I cannot see how any intelligent honest patriotic man can do otherwise. Take the publications of the Southern papers and Southern leaders, they utterly and scornfully reject the offers of the Peace men of the north.

Friday eve. March 13th — There is a Paymaster here. Our Regiment was paid today, two months pay to October 31st. I received \$223.35. They still owe me four months pay up to March 1st. If I only had the full amount we could nearly pay off our *old* debts. It would be about \$669. If I only had it. I have been so long out of money and going on "tic" here that I owe considerable here to the Post Commissary and to the *cook*, so that I cannot send much home as I shall have to pay my debts here and keep

sufficient to keep me a couple of months at any rate. I shall send to Dr. Williamson⁴¹ \$105, by Eugene Sheffield⁴² who starts home tomorrow as Adjutant of the 7th Cavalry. . . .

There are indications that we shall leave here *soon*, where to is another question, probably into Yazoo Pass. I no longer entertain any doubt about the canal question here, it is a failure, boats cannot pass from Lake Providence to the Bayou beyond and a channel cannot be made so that they can. The whole country is flooded by 2 to 6 feet deep so that men cannot dig a channel. It is thickly covered by trees and cane brake so that it is utterly impossible to pass even a very small boat through. I believe that all the talk and work here has been simply intended to divert the minds of the people at home and in Dixie land.⁴³ Cypress trees, stumps, etc. are stubborn facts which will prevent steam boats passing through.

I have the above information from a Lt. of our Regiment who was out in that place on duty, trying with 90 men to pass a small tug through. It could not be done. Boats are now here to take Gen. Logan's Division from here. They will leave tomorrow or next day. I do not know where they go. The days are quite uncomfortably warm, at mid day the shade is more pleasant than the sun shine. . . .

Camp four miles below Lake Providence, La.

March 29, 1863

. . . In my last I told you we had been driven out of our Lake Providence camp and moved three miles *up* the river. On Friday last we came, by boats, four miles *below* Providence, onto the plantation of Col. Benton, where we have a very pleasant camp. Yesterday it rained a little during the day, was cloudy and disagreeable, late in the evening it began to blow *hard*, with rain, and we had a very fair sample of an Iowa wind storm. I laid quietly in bed thinking whether our tent would stand it, untill about midnight, when I concluded that the tent was *bound* to go over, so I dressed *bastily*, and stepped out. I had just got out when over went the tent, Dr. Thomas covered up in the debris. In ten minutes more one half the tents of our regiment were down, and we had a good time laughing at each other. Fortunately the rain had nearly ceased, so that we did not

⁴¹ Dr. J. Williamson of Ottumwa, Thrall's partner.

⁴² Eugene S. Sheffield of Ottumwa, sergt. of Co. D, 15th Iowa, transferred to adj. of 7th Iowa Cavalry in 1863. *Roster and Record*, 2:1018; 4:1262, 1395.

⁴³ See quote from Grant in note 36.

get wet. I got my cot and bed clothes out from under the fallen tent, carried them under an old open shed, that was near and tried to go to bed, but the wind blew away the clothes so fast and so strong that I could not do it, untill I got two men to help me hold the clothes untill I could wrap up in them and then lay down, tied my hat on my head to keep it from blowing away, and then went to sleep and slept first rate untill Surgeons call in the morning. It was a *gay* time for a couple of hours, and we had plenty of sport out of it. The soldiers are feeling well and ready for fun, and we can make sport of most anything.

Yesterday the men found an instrument used to confine slaves in when whipped or punished. I will give you a drawing of it, you know I am an excellent artist. The smaller holes are used to put their feet through, closing the machine just over the ankles; the larger holes are for the head, closing it over the neck; it was about 18 ft. long and very heavy. You raise the upper piece, insert the head or feet, lower the piece, lock it, and you see you have your man *perfectly* secure.

There is here a *light* mulatto woman in a cabin near my tent, a slave of Col. Bentons, who has two boys, about 3 and 4 years old, who are *white*, with long curling hair, blue eyes, showing *no* trace of negro blood. There are two *Indians* here who I have seen, who are slaves, it is not alone the *negro* who is enslaved. . . .

I do not know what will become of me, my old clothes are getting *worn* out, and my *good* clothes are too *small*. I weighed 130 lbs when I bought them, now I weigh 160 lbs. I cannot button my good coat, or my "*britches*." I have got to piece 'em. . . .

Young's Point, La.

Saturday eve, April 4, 1863

. . . April 1st at Lake Providence I was detached from my regt. and ordered to take charge of the 6th Division Pioneer Corps.⁴⁴ On the 2d we (the Pioneer Corps) came down here, and are now camped at precisely the spot where our regt. was camped when here. Yesterday I went down to the famous canal again and had another sight of Vicksburg. The rebs *can* and *have* thrown shell *nearly* or quite to the *upper* end of the *ditch*. A few days ago they began another *canawl* (near our present camp,) to connect with a Bayou, and by canal and Bayou to pass into the Mississippi near

⁴⁴ A "pioneer corps" in the Union Army built the roads, bridges, etc., for the army.

Warrenton, some 20 or 30 miles below Vicksburg. It appears to me the *wildest canalling* that has yet been attempted.

Our Corps go out tomorrow morning, on *flatboats* built for the occasion, several miles into the Bayou, to clear it of trees and stumps. The trees have to be sawed off *under* water. We take fifteen days provisions and expect to make tolerably fair food for mosquitoes, if we do not succeed in making a canal.

It *may* be some days before we have communication with the outside world, so you need not be surprised or anxious if you do not hear from me for two or three weeks. I shall not receive any letters at least for some time. If it was not for that I should care nothing about it.

The officer commanding the corps and myself mess together, and there are several very pleasant and agreeable officers. . . .

P. S. I saw 1st Lt. George Blake (formerly in Daggetts store) this afternoon. He called to see me. He is Aid on Genl. Tuttle's⁴⁵ staff though I do not think he will be able to endure the service in consequence of wound received at Corinth. Ball passed through Bladder and Rectum. His recovery was miraculous.

In Camp of 6th Division Pioneer Corps
April 11, 1863

. . . We are at present about 13 miles west of, and a little south of Vicksburg. Bissell's Engineer Regt. (or a portion of it), several Pioneer Corps, and two or three regiments are at work clearing out a Bayou, and digging canals to connect them with each other and with the river. The entrance by canal from the river is about two miles above the mouth of the Yazoo. We are now about ten or twelve miles from that point, and I begin to believe that we are really going to have a canal *this* time. I think it will be a *success* unless the Levee is opened too soon and the water thus let in, before the Bayou is cleared entirely through, as if the Levee is opened it will flood the country and prevent our doing the necessary work, at which we are now engaged.

I have ridden along the bank of the Bayou for 12 or 15 miles, merely to satisfy my own curiosity, and I have as yet seen nothing that *ought* to pre-

⁴⁵ Brig. Gen. James M. Tuttle of Keosauqua, originally col. of the 2nd Iowa, had been promoted to brig. gen., June 22, 1862. During the Vicksburg campaign he commanded the 3rd div., 15th Army Corps. *Roster and Record*, 1:98; A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments* . . . (Des Moines, 1865), 51-8. For Blake, see note 11.

vent the present canal being a *perfect* success; it will pass by way of Richmond, to Carthage on the Mississippi below Warrenton. Our corps expect to be at Richmond in five days. . . .

I like my present position very well. It is about the same as having charge of a regiment; there is but very little sickness in the Corps, so that I have not much to do.

I only dislike it because we get no mail, and I have no idea when we will; also our regt. is being paid four months pay. I will *not* be there to draw mine, and it is rather uncertain when I can get it. Had they only waited untill I had got my pay, I would rather be with the Pioneers than with my regiment.

When I received the order detaching me from the regiment, I went to the Medical Director of the 17th Army Corps (in which our Division is) and asked to have someone else sent, as there were several regiments who had three Surgeons with them. I wanted to stay with the regt, because we were about to be paid. They declined to send any other, and when I mentioned several who *should* properly be sent, rather than myself, the Medical Director said he was aware that according to usual custom they should be sent, but that he did not consider either of them qualified for the position.

We heard very heavy firing on the 9th and also on the 7th continuing for a length of time. On the 7th it appeared from the sound to be up the Yazoo River; on the 9th below Vicksburg. We do not know what it was about.

Mosquitoes are humming around most too numerous to write. I have killed not less than thirty since beginning to write. . . .

Camp of Pioneer Corps, of 6th Division;
17th Army Corps, Walnut Bayou, La.
April 19th, 1863

I wrote to you on the 12th from our last camp, some four miles up the Bayou. We are at present about 16 miles southwest of Vicksburg, at work clearing the Bayou of tree stumps, etc. We have not progressed as rapidly as we supposed we should, as we found much more work to be done during the last four miles than we supposed there was. Our Corps have during the past week cut down, and halled [*sic*] out, over five hundred trees and then sawed off the stumps, five feet under water. Most of them are small only a few being 8 to 12 inches in diameter. There is at present plenty of

water to run through a steamboat, and we are clearing a channel forty feet wide. I have considerable confidence in the ultimate success of this effort.

The course of the Bayou is exceedingly tortuous, and from canal of entrance (two miles above mouth of Yazoo) to canal of exit (near Carthage) is, by Bayou, *not less than fifty miles*. The first twenty five miles of it I have seen, and by proper labor is undoubtedly practicable.

We are off by ourselves, do as we please, and I enjoy it first rate. I ride in skiffs, on horseback; fish, hunt *Alligators*, play chess, sleep, read, and pass away the time very rapidly. *Only we get no mail.* . . .

Our regt. has *been paid* four months pay *since* I left. It is still at Providence. Had I been there I would have had about \$440. I do not know where I can get mine.

On Friday (17 April) night, about midnight, we heard the *heaviest* and most *incessant* firing from Vicksburg we have yet heard. It rattled the glass in my room (we, the officers, are now living in the deserted dwelling of a planter I suppose we are clearing out that "last ditch" for him to die in.) We do not know what the firing was about.⁴⁶ . . .

Two miles below us on the Bayou is the handsome dwelling, splendid residence of Mrs. Ames. She has four plantations, 2600 acres, 300 negroes. She has sent 250 negroes to Texas. She has quite a pretty daughter about 17 years old, at home, one son in rebel army, one in charge of Negroes in Texas. On Friday the 17th, Capt. Spicer of the 1st Kansas Infantry and myself called to visit her. She is a handsome widow of 40, house *magnificently* furnished, is educated, has travelled extensively, is exceedingly pleasant and agreeable, is an ardent secesh. The daughter (not as handsome as the mother) was so *mad* that a miserable Yankee invader should come into *her* house that she would not speak. We left them a guard to prevent soldiers from running into the house. We dined there and were *not* invited to call again.

Camp of Pioneer Corp 6th Division
Brushy Bayou, near Richmond, La.

April 24, 1863

Yesterday I received yours of April 5th and 12th. Our regt. came from

⁴⁶ On the night of April 16, Admiral David D. Porter "ran" the batteries at Vicksburg, getting a large fleet loaded with troops and supplies below that stronghold. The boats were fired upon by the Vicksburg batteries for two hours while they passed down the river, but most of them escaped without serious damage. This was the firing which Thrall heard. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:463.

Providence to Millikens Landing on the 22d, on the 23d I rode up there, about 12 miles from our present camp. You seemed to be as blue as though you were in a Pioneer Corp. and thought it a terrible place. Now the facts of the case are I *like* it, and would not wish to return to my regt. if we could get mail. But we had no mail for 23 days.

It is fun to fish, hunt Alligators, be off by ourselves and do as we please without running against a guard or a piquett every few yards. But as I do not like to be so long without mail, I asked to be relieved from duty with the Pioneers, and shall in a few days have an order to that effect, so that I shall return to my regt. by the 1st of May.

On the 21st I went up to Millikens Landing, it was about 16 or 18 miles from our camp at that time. I went to the Chief Paymaster of this department, showed him the orders on which I was away from my regt. and he paid me four months pay, to include Feb. 28, 1863, i. e. up to March 1st. I received \$443.75. Tax was deducted, pay would have been nearly \$460. I fortunately met the Chaplain of the 17th Iowa who was just starting north, going to Ottumwa. I sent by him to Dr. W[illiamson] \$350. I had not time to count the money but sent it in the original packages, \$100 in each as it was paid to me. I had barely time to get it and give it to him. The Chaplain was on the Paymaster's boat, and I did not have the money in my possession ten minutes. . . .

April 25, 1863

. . . A large number of troops have marched, by land, from Millikens Landing, through Richmond to Carthage. Gunboats and Transports have run the blockade. I *think* we are going to Port Hudson to co-operate with Banks army if the river keeps up.⁴⁷

In two weeks steam boats can pass through the Bayou we are clearing and will no longer need to run the blockade. There is now a small stern wheel steamer (the "Victor") in the Bayou, has come down 18 miles *without any difficulty*. We have it nearly cleared to Richmond, the boat will reach there in a few days.

Capt. Stuart⁴⁸ of 17th Iowa took supper with me last night. Major John Hedrick is Lt. Col. of the 15th Iowa.

⁴⁷ The army was now marching south on the west side of the Mississippi, bound for a crossing of the river below Vicksburg. Grant would then march his army north on the east side of the river, to the rear of Vicksburg.

⁴⁸ Addison A. Stuart of Keokuk, lieut. and capt. of Co. D, 17th Iowa. He is the author of *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, cited in note 45.

Last night Mosquitoes large as turkey gobblers *filled* my tent. This morning I *killed not less than thirty fleas*, that were in my clothes and bed clothes. I went into a stable last night to see that my horse was fed. I *sent* a nigger this morning to bring my horse away. You know I can stand *some* fleas, but last night fleas and mosquitoes *captured* me. Their artillery was too heavy and I surrendered at discretion. Had a flea hunt this morning, talk of taking an alligator hunt this afternoon.

April 26th

Yesterday Logans Division marched by our camp and I did not write any more. Today the steam boat Victor passed by our camp and went to Richmond — water is falling. This eve our Regiment [and] Brigade came down and camp[ed] $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from us. I received order to join my regt. and shall march with it tomorrow to Carthage. I am relieved here by Asst. Surgn. 15th Iowa. . . .

Camp of 13th Iowa on
Holmes Plantation, on Roundaway Bayou
Eight miles above Carthage, La.
May 3, 1863

. . . On the morning of the 27th our Brigade marched by the camp of Pioneer Corp, and the Asst. Surgn of 15th Iowa presented himself, having been ordered to relieve me from duty with Pioneers. My tent, trunk, etc were soon placed on a wagon in our train and I bid farewell to Pioneering, alligator hunting, etc.

We are at present only ten miles below Richmond, camped here on the 28th, our Brigade is guarding the road from Richmond to Carthage. The main body of the army [is] below Grand Gulf. We hear heavy firing every day, sometimes all day long.⁴⁹ There are ten thousand rumors, and it is impossible to tell what is true, and what is *actually* going on so near us. The sound of cannonading has become so common, (having heard it so frequently during the past month) that I think nothing of it.

We heard very heavy firing all day, a few days ago, from the direction

⁴⁹ Since it was impossible to take Grand Gulf on the Mississippi by a frontal attack, even with navy gunboats, the army marched some twenty-two miles below Grand Gulf and crossed there. On April 29 the navy gunboats fired into Grand Gulf for $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours, without silencing any of the enemy guns. At night Admiral Porter ran his boats past Grand Gulf and ferried the first of the Union troops across the river at Bruinsburg. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:473-8.

of Haines Bluff,⁵⁰ and it is *said* that Sherman has captured it, that the railroad bridge over the big Black River east of Vicksburg has been destroyed by our Cavalry. We *know* that our army is crossing *below* Grand Gulf. We have heard the sounds of battle, from that direction, every day since we came here.

About four oclock this morning there was a tremendous explosion heard and felt here. A powder magazine exploded *someplace*, we *hope* it was a Rebel one, though we have not yet learned. Guerrillas are threatening the road we are guarding.

As to the canal, from Duckport to Carthage, (the one we have been at work clearing) it is a perfect and complete success, in all except one thing. There is not water enough, — too late, too late — the river fell rapidly just as it was ready. I see the northern papers have 20 flat boats *towed* through. The facts are *one* stern wheel steamer the "Victor" has passed through, but the water fell too rapidly to permit any successful use of the canal. I do not think the "June rise" will amount to much this year. I should prefer being with the main body of the army, yet if our army is defeated on the *east* bank of the river it will be a *complete* defeat. Our Division is held in reserve, either to order up to the front or to fall back upon, if necessary. In the mean time we are guarding this road. Rumors of evacuation of Vicksburg are plenty. I am like "Joe" in Bleak House, "I don't know nothing."

The army is making a bold and decisive move, success or defeat must soon attend it; by the time you receive this, you will probably know which.

The health of this Brigade is unprecedented. I have nothing to do. We have received two mails since I joined the Regt., but I received nothing from you. . . .

May 4th, Monday eve

It has been *melting* hot today. Troops are still marching by us. We hear of fighting near Grand Gulf; that we have 500 prisoners; several hundred of our men wounded etc, but do not know how *true* reports are.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Sherman, who was still above Vicksburg, was ordered by Grant to create a diversion by moving up the Yazoo River, north of Vicksburg, and threatening an attack on Haines' Bluff, in order to force the Confederates at Vicksburg to remain there while Grant crossed his army below. *Ibid.*, 1:478.

⁵¹ On May 1 Grant had defeated the Confederates at Port Gibson, inland from the crossing at Bruinsburg. With this defeat, the Confederate position at Grand Gulf was flanked, and they abandoned the position and started northward for Vicksburg, with Grant hard on their heels. *Ibid.*, 1:481ff.

We seem destined to remain guarding this road. Our men do not like it as they prefer being in the *big* fight. . . .

Holmes Plantation, eight miles
above Carthage, La.

May 6, 1863

. . . Yesterday there were about 450 prisoners marched by our camp, on their way to Millikens Landing, thence north. They were dressed in the butternut colored uniform, which certainly is not handsome, though very excellent for actual service. A company clad in our conspicuous blue uniform can be distinctly seen and fired upon, at double the distance at which you could see the homespun butternut. They (the prisoners) were a fine, healthy, body of men, most of them quite gay and festive. A few however, and those the better dressed and more intelligent looked sad and gloomy.

The gay joke and repartee were constantly passing between them and our men. The rebs gave as good as they received. The question, and witty answer often exciting roars of laughter on both sides. It is said in camp that there are 1300 more prisoners to pass up. They were taken near Grand Gulf, on the east bank of the Mississippi.

I do not know what our army is doing, though it is only 30 to 40 miles from us. It is impossible to sift the true from the false, among the ten thousand rumors that we hear daily.

As to our Brigade we are camping here, guarding the road, which is almost constantly filled with provision trains, passing from Millikens Landing to Carthage. How long we shall remain the rear guard, we do not know. . . .

Capt. Porter[']s⁵² *shanty* is about 60 feet from my tent. When the regt. left Millikens Landing they were ordered to leave tents, etc. The order was obeyed as such orders usually are — that is, the Colonels, Lt. Col. etc. brought tents, other officers were not permitted to bring theirs. In our whole Brigade there is not a single hospital tent. When I joined the regt. from the Pioneer Corp, I brought my tent, cot, and all my baggage, so that I am as well fixed as ever. Officers commanding regiments will appropriate a wagon to their own use, no matter what has to be left. I occasionally get completely out of patience with the selfish meanness so frequently displayed by officers commanding regiments. . . .

⁵² Probably James S. Porter of Ottumwa. See note 30.

May 7th, 9 oclock p. m. . . . Today 140 more prisoners passed by our camp. We leave here on the 10th (Sunday) for below and east side of river, so that we shall probably soon be with the main army again. I send this in the morning to Millikens bend, to mail there. I hope I shall get a letter next mail. I think you will soon hear either of capture of Vicksburg, or defeat of Grant's army. I *think* the former. . . .

Grand Gulf, Mississippi

May 14, 1863

. . . Our brigade crossed the river yesterday and are now here, camped upon the bank of the river. We had marched by land from Millikens Bend, about fifty miles to "Hard Times" Landing, then crossed about 3 miles below to this point. Accounts of the fight here on April 30th you have seen in the papers.

This morning I walked over the *very high* bluffs and around through the fortifications and rifle pits of the rebels. This point *completely* commands the river, and in a few days time could have been made perfectly impregnable. As it is, it *was* so to a *direct* front attack. We took the place by landing troops below. The explosion I spoke of in my last was the magazines at this place, exploded by rebels when they found they had to evacuate.

It is a beautiful place, *very high* bluffs, and *deep* ravines, (there are no houses here). The natural defences of the country are such that, artillery can in a short time make almost any given point *very* strong and a *small* force can hold at bay a large one, they can only be taken by going around them, ie by a "flank movement."

Our brigade is about the rear of the army, but very few troops to the rear of us. I really know nothing *reliable* about the advance though I *suppose* it is only about twenty miles up the Black river.

We have this morning Cincinnati and Chicago papers of the 7th and 8th giving account of Hookers defeat,⁵³ of Vallandighams arrest, riot in Dayton, etc.

The universal hope of the soldiers is that Vallandigham will either be shot, or at least sent to Dixie.⁵⁴ This army is in good spirits and even

⁵³ On May 2-4, 1863, Gen. Joseph Hooker, who had succeeded Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac, in Lincoln's desperate search for a winning general in the East, was badly defeated by Lee at the battle of Chancellorsville.

⁵⁴ Clement C. Vallandigham was prominent among the "Peace Democrats." For his speeches urging peace he was arrested at Dayton, Ohio, on May 5, 1863, tried

Hookers defeat does not depress them much. My own opinion is that *this* army is in a tight place, but I believe it will *fight* its way through. . . .

The soldiers have no tents and but few of the officers. It has every appearance of a heavy storm coming up and you ought to be here to see how ingeniously the soldiers have contrived to shelter themselves, with a few boards and their gum blankets. You would find the *fleas* here *irresistible*. They actually annoy me *exceedingly* and you know it must take some flea to do that.

I have a nice Mosquito bat which keeps away my *friends* of that persuasion. On Sunday Monday and Tuesday our Regt. marched about 60 miles; on Sunday as a guard to an ammunition train. The other days marching here the *heat* was excessive. It was some of the days when a soldier's life was *not*. . . .

Grand Gulf, Miss.

May 18, 1863

. . . I am now at work every day in the hospital here; (as a volunteer). There are about 250 wounded and several hundred sick here and I expect to be detailed to some hospital immediately after the battle, which is expected every day and which may even now have occurred, as we find it almost impossible to get *reliable* news from the front. I suppose the army is or has been in Jackson and is now between Jackson and Vicksburg.⁵⁵ The principal battle is yet to come.

We are daily expecting a brigade from Genl. Hurlbut[']s⁵⁶ Division to take our place here when we will — forward march. There was once quite a little village here, though I was not aware of it untill last night, when walking over the ground I happened to notice the foundations, cisterns, etc. All have been *completely* destroyed, not a stick of timber remaining, only

by a military commission, and sentenced to prison. Lincoln commuted his sentence to banishment to the Confederacy, but he soon left the South for Canada, and from there returned to Ohio. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 19:143-5.

⁵⁵ Grant was now fighting in the rear of Vicksburg, reducing the Confederate armies there, preparatory to moving on the city itself. On May 12, at Raymond, he won a brief but hard fought battle. On May 14 Sherman's corps had defeated Joseph E. Johnston at Jackson; Grant then turned westward toward Vicksburg. On May 16 he defeated Gen. John C. Pemberton at Champion's Hill; on May 17, at the Big Black River, from whence Pemberton retreated into Vicksburg. See Throne, "Iowans and the Civil War," 410-12, for a brief account of these battles.

⁵⁶ Maj. Gen. Stephen A. Hurlbut had been given command of the 16th Army Corps, upon the resignation of Maj. Gen. C. S. Hamilton. *Official Records*, Vol. XXIV, Part III, 35.

the remains of chimneys, and foundations and even they have been mostly carried off to make ovens, etc. It was burned last summer by Farraguts fleet. I must now go to the hospital. . . .

Evening — We *hear* this evening that Genl. Grant had quite a battle yesterday and day before between Vicksburg and Jackson. If so you will know particulars about as soon as I do. . . .

Two of Farragutts Gunboats, large, and with masts for sails, fitted either for ocean or river were here yesterday, but the little ironclads are stronger. I have not as much faith in ironclads (or rather Gunboats) as I had.

I have been through the rebel batteries and rifle pits here and although our gunboats had shelled them for hours and *supposed* they had "silenced" the rebel guns, I can *see* but *little* injury that they did, and this place *could not* have been taken, except by landing below and coming in, in their rear.

I have been hard at work to-day, dressing wounds. The unutterable horrors of war most manifest in a hospital, *two weeks after* a battle, it is terrible. It required all my will to enable me to properly dress some of the foul, suffurating, erysipelatos fractured limbs. . . .

19th May. Morning. We this morning have *reports* of decisive battle by Grant, and with good success to our arms, capture of a number of prisoners and guns. If true (as we hear it) Vicksburg, if not now, will be ours, in a few days.

We this morning received Chicago, St. Louis, and Cincinnati papers of the 13th, twenty five cts a No. I have bought four papers during the last week. One dollar for four newspapers is rather steep, but at that price they go off like hot cakes. I noticed in the papers of two or three weeks since, that newspapers were excluded from Grants army. All a humbug. They never have been. It is sometimes some days without papers, but only because they cannot get down.

I sincerely hope that the government will soon hang a few northern torries, who by false reports and traitorous *deeds* and language, endeavor to create disaffection, at home and in the army. . . .

Left Grand Gulf this morn, May 20th at 2 oclock a. m., went up the river. Landed on Louisiana shore in sight of Vicksburg, above Warrenton, could see the shells explode in Vicksburg. Will march by land 5 miles to Youngs point. Expect to go up Yazoo river near Haines Bluff. Are *trying* to reach Grants army in rear of Vicksburg.

Sunday eve, May 24th

Three miles south of Vicksburg
in line of battle

. . . On 21st we crossed the river at Warrenton landing at the battery there. We have not yet become engaged in the general battle which has been going on for a week, so far with *fair* success to ourselves — though with considerable loss.⁵⁷ We are upon the extreme left of our line and expect hard fighting. There is yet *hard* fighting to be done ere we capture Vicksburg. Yet I think we will certainly do so unless very heavy reinforcements are sent to rebs and come in on our rear. . . .

I am ordered for duty at our Division Field hospital, as one of the operating Surgeons, there are 4 of us for that purpose. Am now at hospital, a *fine* dwelling. Consequently will probably be not much exposed, and you need feel no anxiety for me. My health is excellent.

Cannon are almost constantly roaring and we hear the shriek of the shell and during the night can plainly see them. We can throw shell into town from almost every direction. Storming batteries is hot work. 21st and 22nd Iowa have suffered severely. . . .

I do not say much about our present position and intentions or what we have accomplished, as the bearer of this (a Surgeon who is sick and returning to Youngs Point) *may* be captured. So if you do not receive this (as the Irishman says) write and let me know. I expect to date my next after the capture of Vicksburg. We are roughing it. My baggage for several days past has consisted of a blanket and tooth brush. Our men are in good health, fine spirits, and will fight bravely and well. . . .

May 28th, 1863

10 oclock a. m.

. . . The 25th we lay in position as I stated in my last and left that point on the 26th. We at present are twenty one miles from Vicksburg. I think, north east on the ridge road leading from Vicksburg to Yazoo City. We are here to meet the rebel forces coming to the relief of Vicksburg.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ On May 22 Grant tried a direct assault on Vicksburg, with considerable loss. He then settled down to a siege which lasted until the surrender of the city on July 4, 1863.

⁵⁸ The constant fear of the Union army was that Joseph E. Johnston, who had escaped from Jackson with most of his army, would attack from the rear, in an effort to relieve Pemberton in Vicksburg. However, Johnston never succeeded in doing this.

Our success as you doubtless are aware thus far has been great. Since the army crossing the Mississippi below Grand Gulf, it has been a continuous success, at Port Gibson, at Raymond, at Jackson, at Champion Hills, at Black River, Haines Bluff, and now immediately encircling Vicksburg.

As I pass over the rough rugged hilly country, intersected by numerous impassable ravines, canebrakes, etc. I only wonder and am perfectly astonished at our rapid and successful advance. I think we will undoubtedly capture the place. I say nothing particular about what we, our brigade, have done, as that if the letter should be captured, (not an improbable supposition) might give interesting information to rebels. We have only lost 4 or 5 men and none from our regiment.

Of our Ottumwa acquaintances, Capt. Stuart of Co. D, 17th and Lieut. Skelton (Jeweller) of D, 17th, wounded. Stuart a ball through the shoulder (severe). Skelton, ball entered left eye and passed out behind the ear, (severe). I have not seen either. Skelton was wounded in fight at Jackson. Stuart at Black river bridge. The losses of the rebels exceed that of ours, until we came to the fortifications immediately around Vicksburg, up to the present time. I think the loss by killed and wounded of rebels will exceed ours and we have many prisoners. I do not know how many, but several thousand. They have but very few of ours, though you will get all such information by papers long before you receive this.

On the eve of the 25th there was a truce for two hours (to bury dead). The rebels swarmed over their hills, and our men over theirs, in plain view of each other. The rebels first called for truce, on account of horrid stench, as the dead were mostly near their fortifications. I did not go over, but those who did say it was inconceivably horrible. Several wounded were found, who had lain there for four days and nights, one, wounded in the arm and shoulder, had waited upon the others who could not move; had got a little water and food from the canteens and haversacks of dead men laying near. (I saw them when brought in). They are sending off the wounded fast as possible.

I have never before fully realized the immense good done by "Aid Societies." Anyone being in our field hospitals after a battle, seeing the wounded brought in *bloody* and *dirty*, their clothing frequently necessarily cut from them. Then see them lay for two or three days almost naked, covered only with coarse and dirty blankets. Then see them, a few hours after sanitary supplies, sent by the ladies through "aid societies." The clean shirts,

drawers, sheets, etc. then only can you realize the good done. There may be and doubtless is a great deal of mismanagement and dishonesty, developed and proved, yet the good, greatly, *very greatly*, counter balances the bad, as thousands of sick and *wounded* soldiers can testify.

We expect to move on this eve, where I know not. . . .

Haines Bluff

June 1, 1863

We (our brigade) have made the circuit of Vicksburg and again are at Haines bluff, which we left on May 21st, having left Grand Gulf on the eve of the 19th, passed up the river to Youngs Point, then up Yazoo river to Haines Bluff, then on same day returned, via Youngs Point, and re-crossed Mississippi at Warrenton. On the 21st moved up river and made a demonstration on some batteries upon the extreme left of our line encircling Vicksburg; during the night of the 22d we were moved around to our centre, and on 23d were sent back to same position on the left, remained there untill 25th, when we accompanied a force (about 12,000) up the road towards Yazoo City (Gen. Frank Blair commdg). You will see accounts of it in papers. Our brigade went to within about 18 miles of Yazoo City, 42 miles from Vicksburg. We found no rebels in force, only 2 or 3 thousand, mostly mounted. Our brigade was in advance and skirmished with them for several hours on the 29th, none of our regt. wounded; on the 30th we started to return and arrived here last evening.

You see since the 19th of May, we have done *hard* work. As a *reserve* Corp we have been *hastily* moved from place to place, as each seemed in danger; we have not been engaged in the hard fighting, but we have done hard work. I never had as dirty clothing on, and have only carried a blanket on my horse. I am going down to the river to wash myself in a few minutes and think I shall feel better or at least I ought to. I do not know anything of the present situation immediately near Vicksburg or where we will go next, or when. I simply know we are here now at 10 oclock a. m. June 1st. . . .

My health continues good as usual, though a number of men are used up and three of the Drs. in our brigade, sick and off duty. I endure it better than any of them. I can lay down on the ground and "sleep like a top," get up in the morning at 3 or 4 oclock (as we usually do) and find my blankets wet through with dew; then when we stop at noon, spread them out and dry them ready for another night. My principle diet is *coffee*,

though I eat a little *hard* crackers, and meat. My teeth won't endure the hard crackers. I soak what I eat in coffee. . . .

Near Vicksburg

June 6, 1863

. . . I sent you a letter from Haines Bluff on the 1st, giving account of our expedition to neighborhood of Yazoo City etc. On the 4th we moved around to this place — “the centre” of our line and are now near McPherson's HdQrs; in our Army Corp (the 17th), and in our proper position — ie, the one we have heretofore held in this campaign; *it is said*, the brigade will *rest* a couple of days, and then go in to the trenches. *Big* guns are near us, almost constantly roaring; one especially, just upon our right, every 15 to 20 minutes sends a large shell, that has the most peculiar and horrid *shriek*. It traverses the air *howling* and *shrieking* like a living thing, followed and tormented by ten thousand yelling devils. I cannot describe the sound, it must be heard to be appreciated. I am glad it passes from us, and that the rebs do not send us such messengers; as our boys laughingly say it has a very *demoralizing* sound. The rebs seldom reply to our guns, thereby showing their wisdom as they could do us but slight damage and would only waste their powder. I suppose you have the full accounts of Reporters, etc. Very much of their late accounts are mainly correct; the difficulties successfully met and overcome by this army, can scarcely be overrated. *All* who pass over the ground, where we have gained victories, are *amazed* and *astonished* at our rapid and *successful* advance, and no one here entertains a doubt, but that we will have Vicksburg, notwithstanding its strength, or any reinforcements that may be brought to their rescue by Joe Johnston or “any other man.”

This army is in good health, fine spirits, flushed by repeated successes, and as nearly invincible as an army can be. . . .

You ask me “do men have the same right as formerly to freely discuss and *disapprove* (if *their conscience will not let them approve*) the acts of the Administration, or does the doing so make them traitors.” Circumstances are now as widely different as Peace and Civil War can make them. Civilians of the north do not appreciate the *fact* that a civil war exists, they dream not of its horrors, it has not been brought to *their own* hearthstones; an unjustifiable rebellion has been inaugurated by ambitious, aspiring, unprincipled politicians, a rebellion not particularly as against this administration, but against the government has been maturing and ripening for

years. The election of this administration was simply, joyfully seized upon as a pretext. The administration was justly and legally elected, it is *the government*, and under present circumstances is entitled to the support of every loyal man. If efforts to subdue rebellion are unsuccessfull our country is *ruined*. We have the history of the past few years in Mexico to warn us. Successfull prosecution of the war is our only salvation. Opposition to the administration (it is for the time being the government) (*de jure* and *de facto*), may be tolerated only to a certain extent — *not* as formerly in *peace* times — unlimited. Does opposition to administration amount to discouragement of enlistment, to *resistance* to conscription, to serious embarrassment of finances of government, etc. etc. and by such means to the encouragement of armed rebels, to prolongation of the war (as I firmly believe that a peace can *only* be conquered), then it (opposition) passes proper bounds. He who has *not yet* been able to separate the administration from the republican party, who still permits old party war cries, and old party bonds of peacefull times, who does not admit the *existence* of *revolution*, and acknowledge that support of the government is our only safety, has his judgement clouded and his reason obscured to a *lamentable* degree. If his conscience approves it is not because of *right*, but because of a clouded mind and misguided reason.

Thousands of armed rebels are *conscientious* in their opposition to the administration — to the government. A certain female once professed to have “got religion,” and was anxious to join a church and would do so, *but* for a certain reason. A clergyman thought he would talk to her and explain. He did so. She professed to be satisfied and would join that church, *but* there was this thing (mentioning it). It was explained; *but* there is so so. Finally the clergyman became provoked and said, “Madam, I am very much afraid that that ‘but’ of yours will ultimately cause you to be damned.” Many men of the north “are *loyal*” *but* there is *this* and there is *that*, which they disapprove, and *oppose*. They must be carefull that their *buts* do not cause them to be damned.

Difference of opinion, discussion and opposition to certain measures and opinions of government may be and *is* tolerated. But the *fact* of the *existence* of *revolution* of *civil war* makes an ill defined boundary beyond which serious opposition should not be tolerated. We have and have had, the best and most lenient government in the world. United at the north, we *can* and *will* sustain and perpetuate that government. The course pursued by Val-

landigham and his supporters unquestionably gave "aid and comfort" to rebels. That he was permitted so long to do so and his punishment so mild, is only an example of the leniency of our government. Vallandigham has hardly a single sympathizer in this army, where men know and *realize* what it is to give aid and comfort to rebels. . . .

I suppose the capture of Vicksburg *has been* celebrated; it was only a little premature, as we are bound to have it. Our guns fire from 3 o'clock a. m. till 10 oclock a. m., then rest and begin at 4 oclock p. m. and fire till about midnight. Sometimes it is grand especially when the firing extends all around the lines from mortars, gunboats and land batteries. . . .

"The Centre" near Vicksburg, Miss.

June 18, 1863

. . . Yesterday I went down to Chickasaw Bayou landing (our main landing upon our right) and where all our supplies are landed. From our camp by the road we had to take, it was about 10 miles and the hilliest and roughest road I ever travelled over. The road we were permitted to return upon is about three miles nearer and much better. I went down after some medicines and it took me *all* day to make the trip. . . . Most of the wounded have been sent north. . . .

I shall go out this afternoon to Genl. Grants Hdqrs. and make some inquiries of the Medical Director. . . . Genl Grants HdQrs are about one mile from our camp. I was there yesterday.

It is almost impossible to find any one, or any certain place here. You may be within sixty yards of some one you wish to see, and then not be able to find him. It is all hills and hollows, ravines and cane brakes. The 17th Iowa, the 28th Iowa and other Iowa regts. are *near* us (from one to two miles). I have tried to find their camp once or twice and could not do it; it is not "healthy" (as the boys say) to go poking around here. A number of our men have been shot at when passing from camp to camp, especially so if you do not know just where the "lines" are.

We are still held as a "reserve," though portions of our regt have been out two or three nights, at work on the front lines and trenches, extending them etc. We have orders to be ready at *any moment* and may be sent to "left" or "right," or back to meet Joe Johnston, or *any place* where the men *need help*.

You are "posted" by the northern papers of what is going on here, though I read considerable in them that I knew nothing of before. The

trouble is together with the *facts*, you get considerable thrown in to embellish those facts. The firing around the lines continues (with occasional intermission), sometimes for a few hours quite "heavy," though seldom so as to *particularly* attract our attention. The rebs do not reply, except their Sharpshooters.

On the evening of the 9th I went out to our front batteries (in the "Centre"). It was cloudy and looking towards Vicksburg was a black cloudy background. I had the finest view of Shells from Mortars etc. that I ever had. Sometimes I could see 4 or 5 at once, passing up, up, up, and then down, down, down, bursting with a *loud* explosion and a brilliant flash; while traversing the air they appear like Meteors, about the apparent size of a "shooting star." The air resounded with the sound of other shells and solid Shot from our land batteries upon my right and left and from the one I was standing by, although *to me, invisible*, they were certainly not inaudible; one of our shells, from a large Parrott gun upon my right sent a shell, with a peculiarly wicked and fiendish sound. The boys call it "ripping Sal." The skirmishers and Sharpshooters had stopped firing and were loudly talking to each other all along the line. I could seldom distinguish what they said, as there was so much noise near me; but could hear our boys call over "look out there comes ripping Sal after you." One of our shells was seen coming over, to just in front of us, and one of our men called over to a reb — "Tom, you had better *hunt that hole*"; reb replied, evidently in haste, "you are mighty right."

Many of the newspaper reports of Picket talking are true. The keen joke and witty repartee are constantly passing between them here. In many cases, but a few yards separate them and in the daytime the man that raises his head (on either side) dies.

Mrs. Wittenmeyer⁵⁹ has just left tent, called in and chatted awhile. She says our regt. is in the best condition as regards health etc. of any that she has visited. We have only 6 off duty. . . .

A few days since we bought 8 lbs. of butter, 7 doz eggs, one bushell potatoes and 14 lbs. concentrated milk, 2 gallons of Krout, and 2 gallons of pickels and we pitched in to make up for hard fare, for the preceding

⁵⁹ Annie Turner Wittenmyer of Keokuk, famous for her work with the Soldiers' Aid Societies during the war. Appointed one of the State Sanitary Agents, she collected and distributed \$160,000 worth of sanitary supplies. B. F. Gue, *History of Iowa* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:292-3; Ruth A. Gallaher, "Annie Turner Wittenmyer," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, 29:518-69 (October, 1931).

18 days. The chaplain, Dr. Thomas and myself mess together. We have one cook and two negroes. The chaplain and Dr. Thomas made themselves sick eating too much, but I can stand that as well as anything else. I tell you, you do not make me sick by giving me something good to eat. . . .

"The Centre" near Vicksburg, Miss.

Monday eve, June 22d, 1863

We (our brigade) just received *orders* to march at 3 oclock a. m. tomorrow. We go to the rear someplace to meet Johnston. All is progressing around the "line" as usual. On the morning of the 20th from 4 AM till 10 oclock AM there was general canonnade. You will see accounts of it in papers. We (our brigade) were stationed just behind one of our batteries in the Centre, ready to charge if thought advisable, or repel sortie of rebs. There is no doubt of the ultimate capture of Vicksburg. . . .

Chickasaw Bayou, Miss.

Sunday eve June 26th, 1863

. . . We have marched out about 12 miles and yesterday morning about four miles farther, where we will probably remain sometime unless driven in by Johnstons forces, which I do not apprehend.

I came down here today (about 17 miles from our camp) for some medicines, was detained and obliged to remain all night. We are at present with the forces under command of Genl Sherman, to prevent reinforcements reaching Vicksburg. The newspapers will keep you posted as to the siege of Vicksburg. . . .

Near Big Black River, Miss.

July 3d, 1863

. . . We have been in our present camp about a week, it is quite a pleasant one. We only occasionally see a few rebs, on this side the river (Black) though they are on the opposite (east bank) side of the river and have there some slight fortifications. We seldom hear any picket firing and I think Genl Johnston (or rebel com'ndg Genl) is altogether too sharp to cross the Black and make even an attempt to raise siege of Vicksburg in that manner. It cannot be done, by any force they can bring against us.

We distinctly hear the *heavy* guns pounding away at Vicksburg, day and night — night and day — sounding very much like distant thunder — we are about 15 miles (in a direct line) east and a little north of Vicksburg.

My opinion of Rebel programe is that they will attempt to blockade Mis-

Mississippi river, above us, and thus prevent transports coming down with provisions, — they *cannot* do it — they now fire into nearly every boat that passes up and down, but we can bring down *fleets* of boats, convoyed by gunboats, and they *cannot* prevent navigation of Mississippi. We have on hand supplies to last us for any length of time, they might stop single or unarmed transports and render it necessary thus to convoy our supplies.

The 17th Iowa lost 40 men killed and wounded in a charge on a rebel fort about the 26th of June. They have fought like heroes and suffered severely since 1st of May, having lost in killed and wounded, about 250 men out of 500 that they had when they crossed the Mississippi. . . .

You seem to have rather exalted ideas of a very temporary appointment, which really amounts to but little. It is customary, prior to a battle for the "Surgeon in Chief" of a Division to assign each Medical officer his duties and position, some to Field Hospital, some to primary depots, where wounded are first hastily collected, and then moved to Field hospital, some to the Field of battle or very near it, etc. etc. There are usually 25 to 30 medical officers with each Division. On the 22d or 23d of May it was expected (I have since ascertained) that we would charge the battery opposite us, consequently all preparations were made for a number of wounded. I happened at that time to have been assigned to the Field hospital as one of the operating Surgeons. Three are assigned to each field hospt. I knew nothing of it untill I received the order, directing me to report to the hospt. for duty immediately. Well, if we had made the charge I suppose I should have cut off some legs, arms, etc.

Fortunately for us it was not considered at all practicable, and the men were *not* ordered to charge. Since then, they have had opposite the same battery (on the left) 3 times the number of men we had at that time, but have *wisely* not charged the battery. Its position is such, it would render it a most desperate charge. So I remained at the hospt. untill our brigade left the position (three or four days) and only dressed 4 or 5 wounds, that did not require or permit of operations. Since then we have not considered the prospect of a fight sufficiently imminent (in the places we have been) to *establish* a Field hospital. In "The Centre" the hospitals were of course already established, while we were there.

It is said that we will celebrate the 4th, tomorrow by burning an unusual amount of powder around Vicksburg. . . .

Messengers Ford (or Ferry)
Big Black River, Miss.
July 9th, 1863

My last to you was dated July 3d. You ere this have learned what transpired here on the 3d and 4th and probably know as much concerning it by this time as I do, as I have not been nearer than sixteen to eighteen miles of Vicksburg since then. Firing ceased on the 3d, our troops occupied the place on the morning of the 4th. It is *now* said here that we have 31,000 prisoners, and about 225 to 250 pieces of Siege Guns and Light Artillery, 35,000 stand small arms, a very large amount of good ammunition.⁶⁰

On the 3d scouts brought word to our camp (about three miles from this place) that a body of Rebs were marching up to cross Black River at Messengers Ford. Our Brigade was immediately ordered there. Lay upon their arms all night; and in the morning of the 4th they came up in sufficient numbers on the opposite bank of the river to drive in our Pickets and Skirmishers and threw a few shells over towards us (doing no damage). Our artillery returned the compliment. I presume with equal success. Only 500 or 600 Rebs appeared in sight, though we have since learned that they had two Brigades, a large portion of a 3d one, there. So that they had about 3 times as many men as we had and Gen. Joe Johnston had his Hd. Quarters at a house about three miles back, with several thousand men. We did not know at that time that we were so close to a fight. The rebs remained around all day and at night drew off. On the morning of the 5th we returned to camp.

On the evening of the 5th, thousands of men passed our camp, enquiring if we had heard anything of Joe Johnston.⁶¹ Notice the celerity of movement of western troops. On the 4th we occupied Vicksburg. On the evening of the 5th thousands of men just from the trenches around Vicksburg, *pass us 18 miles* from town, hunting another rebel army to conquer, or capture. In the night of the 6th, our regt. was detached from brigade and ordered to Messengers Ford, where we now are, guarding a bridge we

⁶⁰ According to Grant's report to Halleck, dated July 8, 1863, the prisoners captured at Vicksburg numbered "over 30,000," the artillery, 170 pieces, "considerable ammunition," and 50,000 small-arms. *Official Records*, Vol. XXIV, Part I, 62.

⁶¹ On July 3, 1863, while Grant was negotiating with Pemberton, he ordered Sherman to begin to move his troops eastward to attack Johnston, who was just across the Big Black River. Grant, *Memoirs*, 1:576.

have built, and we have pickets and scouts out through the surrounding country.

I am occupying a room in Messengers house, one of the finest dwellings in the country, right upon the high banks of the Black, and when we first came here, *filled* with most *beautiful* and *costly* furniture which has been all carried off. Messenger is a Massachusetts *Yankee*, who about 20 years ago came South, *married* a *rich* retired *courtezan*, about 15 years older than himself; at the beginning of the war, was reported to be worth over a million and $\frac{1}{2}$ of dollars; raised, and uniformed and equipped a regt. entirely at his own expense. You see being such a "cussed" mean *Yankee* he had to do a little more than ordinary.

Our Army Corp (the 17th) for the present remains in charge of Vicksburg and surrounding country, so that it is probable that our Brigade is still going to escape active participation in battles with Joe Johnston (if he fights in neighborhood of Jackson) as is now thought probable, and we are even now listening in anticipation of hearing our guns in that direction. The force that has gone out is bound to whip him — and *will* do it — if he will stop and fight. . . .

Messengers Ford
Big Black River, Miss.
Saturday, July 11th, 1863

We are still in same place. . . . I *presume* Shermans forces carried Jackson yesterday though we did not hear firing. We are 25 miles from where battle occurred — *if there was one*.⁶²

We received this morning Chicago and Cincinnati papers of 3d and 4th of July. If the eastern men will only give Lee[']s army a *decisive* defeat, the rebellion is conquered. Lee's army *ought* to be demolished, and if Grant was there with his army, *it would be done*. As it is, I fear they will let him escape, with his accumulated supplies. We hear that Price suffered a disastrous repulse on the 4th in attack on Helena. (36th and 33rd Iowa Regts are at Helena)⁶³

⁶² Sherman followed Johnston to Jackson where Johnston made a stand. Sherman then settled down to a siege of the city, which lasted from July 9 to 16, when Johnston evacuated and escaped during the night. Throne, "Iowans and the Civil War," 414.

⁶³ A Union force under Maj. Gen. B. M. Prentiss was attacked at Helena, Ark., on July 4 by Confederates led by Gen. Sterling Price, but Price was repulsed. *Official Records*, Vol. XXIV, Part III, 480.

The 4th of July seems to have been an eventful day in the rebellion, and I only fear that those eastern Yankees and Pennsylvania dutch have not kept up their end of the beam. If they have done their *duty*, the end is in sight and the rebellion knocked on the head. What remains of it will be mostly guerrilla warfare.

There is as yet but very little sickness in our Regiment, only 13 off duty today and 7 of those in regimental hospital. One of our men died yesterday, the *first* one since we left Corinth last October that has died while with the regt. and I only know of 3 altogether. 2 who died in hospital at Memphis, and one in hospt. at Youngs Point. I do not think a regt. in the service can show a better record, for that length of time. Four deaths (from sickness) in nine months. . . .

Clinton, Miss.

July 19th, 1863

. . . We came here (ten miles east of Jackson) on the 16th. We had charge of 300 wagons loaded with provisions and ammunition. 1200 to 1500 Texas Rangers hung around us all one day, trying to get an opportunity to destroy our train. They burned and destroyed about 20 wagons that were a couple of miles in advance of our train and a few that were coming on two or three miles *behind* us, but did not dare attack us. Though the three regiments guarding the train only had about 1500 men, ie, the 11th, 13th and 15th Iowa. We sent forward for reinforcements and the 5th and 10th Iowa and 8th Mo, with the 10th Ohio battery, were sent out six miles to meet us, and we saw no more of Rebel cavalry.

Johnston evacuated Jackson on the 16th and 17th getting away with all his baggage and artillery. We here consider that he completely outwitted Sherman and think it is about time for Sherman to go home. I heard that Jackson was almost entirely destroyed by fire, partly burned by the rebs as they left and finished by our men. I do not know whether it is so or not.

This place is very prettily located, and quite a pleasant village, about the size of DeGraff. A fine Seminary building, which with 3 churches and several private residences, are now filled with Secesh wounded. The buildings of the town have not been as yet much injured by either army. I have been around through the Secesh hospitals. The ladies (several of them) have frequently visited a small hospital of ours here (containing 30 sick) which I am temporarily in charge of. The sick are from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Ohio, Indiana, Ill, Iowa, left behind as their regts. ad-

vanced. A *few* ladies have been very kind, bringing in to the sick fresh Eggs, Peaches, Milk etc. They have shown more humanity and *politeness* than any southern ladies I have met.

I stay with my regt., but visit the hospital twice a day and shall leave when my regt. leaves, which is *said* will be in a few days and that we go to Vicksburg, back to our own army corp, this division being only temporarily detached. I hope so. . . .

I do not know what this army will do. It is said that Johnston will go to Meridian or Montgomery, Alabama, so that there is nothing left for us to fight, but probably some guerrillas. Grant has cleared out his department of all rebels in force. I think we will probably lay up in camp for six or eight weeks. It is impossible to march much this intensely hot weather. . . .

Vicksburg, Miss.

August 2d, 1863

. . . We came here from Black River RR bridge on July 27th. . . . We are camped about a mile and $\frac{1}{2}$ north (or up the river) from the court house. The whole country is hill and ravine, hill and ravine. The roughest place I ever saw in which to build a town, worse, far worse than Keokuk, Burlington, or Muscatine, *worse* than the hills and ravines back of our house. . . . The roof of a 2 story house on one lot is frequently many feet below the foundation of a house only 20 feet away on the adjoining lot. There are a few fine mansions, yet (as we would naturally expect) the town presents the appearance of dilapidation and *neglect*. It appears as though it had been rented for several years and the repairs entirely neglected. A large majority of the houses show marks of entrance of one or more balls, yet *externally* do not show much damage, although the inside arrangements (Plastering, partitions, and floors) seriously injured. I have only *seen two* houses which seem to have been literally knocked to pieces by our shells or balls. Yesterday I counted in one side of the depot, 18 shot holes, yet it was not much injured. The sides of the hills are full of caves (as you have read in papers) some of them even yet quite nicely furnished and quite pleasant — especially when it hailed the way it used to here.

A number of these caves *ought* to be preserved as most interesting mementoes, and I hope it will be done. They afforded perfect safety to thousands and had I lived here and built one, I should keep it to show to

future generations, as a visible evidence of what their *celebrated ancestors* had done.

Vicksburg required but slight work to render it the Sebastopol of America. I stand and gaze, with continually increasing surprise, to see that our army was able to accomplish what it had done, before the surrender. I could not by *language* convey to your mind any adequate idea of the vast and powerfull defences of the city. Art had only applied the finishing touches to Natures fortifications and it was not an entirely vain boast of the rebels that we *could not* take Vicksburg for some time longer, yet we *would ultimately have taken it*, though it would have been *inch by inch* and *foot by foot*. I have seen such improbable things done that I no longer know what is the meaning of such english words as impossible, invincible, impregnable etc. Some of the streets are still barricaded and prepared for Field pieces to rake them.

Our men are at work destroying our works by which we advanced upon the rebels. We are filling up ditches, levelling fortifications etc. so that if rebs should ever desire to come to visit us, they cannot find approaches ready made, but they will never do so. . . .

We this morning had off duty, 19 men, about 35 called for medicine. I do not know of a regiment in the vicinity which has as small a sick report and there are but few regiments that have as many men *present for duty* (ie 460). I suppose our Brigade is one of the largest in the army of Tennessee. . . .

Vicksburg, Miss.

Aug. 6, 1863

. . . I wrote to you on the 2d telling you something about Vicksburg its defences, appearance etc. Let us take a walk down street and see what we can see. First the streets are full of government wagons, rattling as fast as possible in every direction. We see upon the streets a number of citizens, male and female an unusual number of females as their fathers, brothers, husbands, and lovers are in the army, their negroes gone. They are compelled to go around and take care of themselves, many of them evidently unaccustomed to doing so. The men are of all classes, from the poor white trash, to the wealthy aristocrat — or those who *were* wealthy. Their countenances exhibit — a *few* joy — at our occupation of the city — many indifference, dislike, hate.

As more rare and interesting to the soldier we will notice more particu-

larly the females. Coming down street in a rickety old one horse wagon, a little darkey — all eyes and teeth — driving a poor mule. In the wagon are several (4) ladies, *well dressed* crinolined and hooped, as fashions law demands. Upon some grass or straw (or possibly cotton) they sit — squat-upon the bottom of the wagon bed and look around with proud disdain upon the vulgar Yankees. They formerly rode in a fine carriage, with a negro in livery for a driver, smiling graciously upon their favored admirers — alas, how have the mighty fallen — a rickety wagon, a poor mule, a little ragged nigger.

A little further down we see some ladies, some upon poor old horses, others upon poor old mules, well dressed, evidently not belonging to the poorer classes, as their countenances denote intelligence and education, as they look scornfully around upon the blue coats and brass buttons. They are followed by two little darkeys riding poor mules, with rope bridles and no saddles.

On the side walks are a number of females, of all classes, from the rough and ragged Irishwoman, to the delicate waist, soft white hand, and voluminous skirts of the “bon ton,” one of whom (the latter) as myself and several friends passed, with an air of intense disgust, took hold of her dress shaking it (as if to shake off the contamination of our presence). I felt very much like advising her to keep her linen down, until asked to elevate it. It is however the only instance of the kind I have seen and there is very little of that spirit exhibited here. Much less than I have seen in many smaller places. They have here too well learned by experience the horrors of war.

We will go to the Post Commissary, where rations are issued. A citizen goes to one officer (or office) and gets a “provision return.” He takes it to another office to have it approved and an order to issue the rations endorsed upon it. Then to another building to a clerk, who takes the provision return and estimates the number of pounds due of meat, coffee, sugar, flour, etc. Upon the return, gives a ticket, which is then taken to the issuing clerk, who finally, when your turn comes, gives you your “five days rations.”

There is a constant crew, men, women, and children, white, black, and yellow; soldiers, and citizens. Order is preserved by guards. I have seen men and women — who did not “pitch in” — wait for 6 and 8 hours to get their rations. (Though every effort is made to assist the women). In the

crowd I have seen ladies, evidently not accustomed to doing anything, quietly awaiting their turn and in a few instances themselves carrying away their provisions.

You see that getting provisions is really a formidable task. Consequently I could sympathise with a lady I heard upon the street. She was neatly and tastefully dressed, with a bright intelligent looking little boy about 7 or 8 years old and neatly dressed with her. She presented in dress and manners every indication of a *true lady*. She stepped on to the street from the office with a provision return in her hand. As I passed by, she opened her paper and as she read, she stopped; her eyes (she had pretty eyes) filled with tears, as she spoke to her little boy — “Oh Charley, it is *only* for five days and I asked for ten days. It is *so hard* to get in such a crowd” — if I had had five days rations, I *might* have given them to her.

Aug 7th, noon. I have just had dinner, consisting of bean soup, pickles, catfish (fried) butter, bread, coffee, etc. Have been busy all the morning. First prescribed for 10 or 12 in group (who came to my tent) then for the sick (10) in our hospital, then visited the Brigade Qr. Master and Provost Marshall who are sick at Brigade HdQrs and who I have been attending. Then about nine oclock went to town, to Genl McPhersons HdQrs. and to the Post Commissary to attend to some business about our Regimental Hospital Fund and got back to dinner having been *busy* since 6 oclock a. m.

On the 4th of August we were paid two months pay (to June 30th, 1863). I received \$223.35. . . .

Vicksburg, Miss.

Sept. 24th, 1863

. . . My health is about as good as ever; during the past ten days have had entire charge of the Regt. — Dr. Thomas acting as Senior Surg'n of Brigade.

Our sick list much the least of any of the other regts. During the past few days we have averaged about 21 or 22 off duty. The 11th and 15th have averaged each, about 80 off duty and the 16th about 40. Diseases are assuming a milder character, and much less Ague. The cases of fever and dysentery much more easily subdued. I believe I came through my attack about as quickly and made a more perfect recovery than any others than I know of. Dr. Gibbon⁶⁴ Surgn of the 15th was left sick with Dysentery in

⁶⁴ William Gibbon of Chariton, surgeon of the 15th Iowa. *Roster and Record*, 2:896.

La. His wife went after him (under flag of truce) and today he started up the river for Iowa, with leave of absence for 30 days.

Dr. Fisk⁶⁵ Asst. Surgn. 15th went home sick, on Aug. 1st and has not yet returned. Dr. Nelson⁶⁶ 2d Asst. Surgn. 15th has been sick and off duty for the past two weeks. I have attended him during the past week, riding each morning 3 miles to visit him (as our regt. is now camped in town), he is now convalescent, but is so *terribly* homesick and *such* a granny with no "*snap*" or *get up* about him, that he will be of no account here for a month — and never was much.

Dr. McClelland⁶⁷ Asst. Surgn. 16th has been attending 15th for two weeks. The Asst. Surgn of 11th has been sick *in hospital* here for the past three weeks — so that there is but one Dr. to each regiment, as Dr. Morrison 2d asst. of 13th, has not been with the regt. since last January, and is now at home on furlough.

A number of troops went north today. We *surmise* to Rosecrans army.⁶⁸ I think it *probable* that we (our brigade) will remain sometime yet here, possibly all winter, if so, I think I will have no difficulty in obtaining a leave of absence, in two or three months. If we go into an *active* fall campaign I probably cannot, untill the campaign will be ended by the wet and mud of winter.

The river is *very* low, and navigation difficult on account of Sand bars. Yet but very few boats are fired into by Guerrillas. They do not in the least interrupt free navigation of the Mississippi, as they boasted they could and would do. If ever, now is their time to do it. It was found not to be a paying business, as the river is well patrolled by gunboats and many other boats carry a gun, ready for emergencies.

As to *party* politics north, . . . you still speak of Democrat and Republican, as in *former* times, and yet the distinction is as far apart as sun and

⁶⁵ Hezekiah Fisk of Indianola enlisted in Co. G, 15th Iowa, as 2nd lieut., 1861; promoted to 1st lieut., 1862; to asst. surgeon, Mar. 7, 1863. Died of wounds at Atlanta, 1864. *Ibid.*, 2:942.

⁶⁶ William W. Nelson of Utica, asst. surgeon, 15th Iowa. *Ibid.*, 2:896.

⁶⁷ Freeman McClelland of Kingston, asst. surgeon, 16th Iowa. *Ibid.*, 2:1072.

⁶⁸ Maj. Gen. W. S. Rosecrans was at Chattanooga, with the Army of the Cumberland, after being defeated at Chickamauga by Braxton Bragg on Sept. 19-20, 1862. Grant sent reinforcements to relieve Rosecrans, went himself to rescue the besieged army, and on Nov. 23-25, at the battle of Chattanooga (Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge) defeated Bragg. Throne, "Towans and the Civil War," 415-21.

moon. The Vallandigham faction *call themselves* democrats, and it is true there are but *few* among them who were not formerly such. Many, infatuated by the term *Democrat*, have had their mental vision so obscured by the veil of former *names* and former *party* ties, that they cannot see that the principles *now* advocated by such *self styled democrats* are *fatal* to the best interests of their country. Many others (especially the leaders) although they “*see it*” are *traitors* at heart and desire the slave aristocracy to rule or ruin this country, provided they will in the future, as in the past, throw to them large crumbs from the public treasury. For that, they will crawl in the dust at the feet of those who use and despise them.

Vallandigham and others of that stripe are so much to be execrated, as was even Aaron Burr, and deserve the traitor’s death, by hanging by the neck untill they are dead — dead — dead — and may God have mercy on their souls, for prolonging by their action(by word and deed) for prolonging this war and giving at the present time to the authors of this rebellion their *only* hope of success.

I apprehend that party ties are older and stronger than church ties, and I must confess that I do not clearly see how an *intelligent* supporter of Vallandigham could get to heaven, if he “dies in his sin”; an *ignorant catholic* Paddy, (who by [the way] compose a large portion of the *party*), *might* stop at the half way station, called Purgatory.

I have seen and felt, and *know* what war is and am anxious to be through with it, hence the longer it continues, the more bitter do I feel towards its northern supporters, who by their *talk* more than deeds, give aid and comfort to rebels. Such is the feeling of 29 out of 30 men in the army, men who *know* what war is, and know that the only practical way to end this one is to *crush* out the rebels, south and north. However, it will be done at the ballot box in the north soon. Vallandigham in Ohio and Tuttle⁶⁹ in Iowa, have no more prospect of being elected than I have and many of their supporters will be surprised at the majorities against them, and many will probably be surprised at the number who will vote for them. . . .

Vicksburg, Mississippi

October 8, 1863

. . . I wrote to you on the 30th. We were then preparing to move camp

⁶⁹ Brig. Gen. James M. Tuttle of Iowa had been nominated for governor by the Democratic party. He was defeated by Col. William M. Stone of the 22nd Iowa, the Republican candidate. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 14, 58.

in the rain, and consequently not in a very good humor; but the order was countermanded (not because it was raining though, they do not stop for such things in the army) and we did not move until the 5th. We have not near as pleasant or healthy a camp as we had in town. Yesterday there was a general review of the troops here. They were reviewed by General Grant in "Propria persona," consequently the medical staff received orders to attend in full dress uniform, which they did. The "full dress" was interpreted by some in odd manner as I saw several who had no green sash, had borrowed some Line officer's sword, and flourished their swords as large as life, and some of them a little larger.

I have never thought it worth while to pay \$25. for a "Surgeon's sword," and but few surgeons do, so with my sash on I was in full dress and instead of saluting General Grant with a sword, I simply touched my hat, a shocking bad one, by the by. I felt like laughing at some of the doctors, but suppose I had no right to, as I doubt not that on my old plug horse, I appeared about as hard as any of them. We are now camped with the remainder of the Division about a mile below town and are doing Piquett duty. . . .

I have several times spoken about less sickness in our regiment than in the other regiments of the brigade. We finally had some little excitement about it. General Chambers,⁷⁰ commanding our brigade, reported to the Medical Director of the Department that the Surgeons of the 13th Iowa had for some time been making *false* reports of sick, not reporting *all* their sick, that is, excusing men from duty but *not* reporting them on morning sick report. As I have during the past month done *all* the prescribing both in hospital and quarters and have been the only one who excused men from duty, have made out and signed all the morning reports as Assist. Surgeon in charge of Regiment, the Medical Director asked me about it. When I instantly informed him that General Chambers had reported what was totally false, that was as near as I dared to, to saying that a Brig. General had told a thundering lie. I asked the Med. Director to have the matter investigated. I spoke to the Col. of our regiment who called up all the company officers and asked them if they were in the habit of excusing men from duty, and if men from their companies were permitted to lay around the quarters off duty when not excused by the Surgeon. He ascertained that during the preceding month only six men had been excused by them all and they had taken sick during the

⁷⁰ See note 38.

day or while upon duty. A statement of the facts was drawn up, signed by all the company commanders and by the Colonel and sent to the Medical Director. I have heard nothing from it. The Colonel took a copy of it and called to see General Chambers as such a charge hits a Colonel of a regiment as hard as a Doctor, as it would, if true and permitted by him, discharge him from the service. I asked the Colonel to ask Gen. Chambers for his authority. He did so and the General said he was so informed by all the other Surgeons in the Brigade when he had sought to find the reason of the vast difference in number of sick in our regiment. The Med. Director said it was very singular and that there must be some reason for it and asked me why it was, if I could account for it by difference of camp or otherwise. I informed him that we had been camped side by side on the same kind of duty influenced by similar circumstances untill two weeks since. Had I at that time known that the charge originated from other Surgeons I might have given him what I think is the cause, that is a more judicious system of medication, a more judicious use of Quinine and whisky, an avoidance of Calomel and drastic cathartics. Our sick list since August has been three fourths less than that of the 11th and 15th and more than one half less than that of the 16th, and very considerably less than that of any other regiment in this army corp. Although I have done a large portion of the prescribing in the regiment during that time, Dr. Thomas is, I consider, a good practitioner and our prescriptions would generally harmonize. He practices upon the expectant system⁷¹ . . . consequently, we work together in harmony and the result is a regiment in fine condition. . . .

Vicksburg, Mississippi

October 21, 1863

. . . I wrote to you on the 13th from Black River R. R. Bridge. It was election day and commissioners were present to take the soldiers vote. In our brigade (4 Iowa regts) Gen. Tuttle only received about 120 votes although he was very popular as a military man and tried to run on a ticket with Copperheads of the Vallandigham stripe. Genl. Tuttle was camped near my tent on election day and although present and *popular* — as a man and *officer* — *soldiers would not* vote for him for Governor. In our brigade he only received about one vote out of every eight and his associates on the ticket, *one* in 40 votes. I was present at the polls of six or eight regiments,

⁷¹ In medical terms, the "expectant treatment" is treatment of a disease in which the cure is left largely to nature.

from Ohio and Iowa, and never saw an election more *fairly* conducted and can testify that no means were used to influence voters, even $\frac{1}{2}$ as much as always occurred at any and all elections that I have ever seen. Soldiers have emphatically at the ballot box expressed their opinion that Vallandigham is a *traitor*, and even association on the same ticket (although *denying their principles*) was sufficient to dam a man of Gen. Tuttle's popularity. I am confident that Ohio will repudiate Vallandigham. . . .

Vicksburg, Mississippi

October 28 1863

. . . things are moving along here dull as you please, no excitement, no guerrillas near us that I know of — though there may be tomorrow. We today received Northern papers, of the 21st Oct., giving the news of Rosecrans, — of Grant taking command of the "Dept. of the Cumberland" — or the consolidated "Depts. of the 'Ohio,' 'Cumberland,' and 'Tennessee' " — is *well* received here; as this army "*bets high*" on Grant. The result of election is cheering, and as we supposed it would be. The call for 300,000 more volunteers just suits us and *next summer* we will drive the rebellion into the Atlantic Ocean. . . .

Vicksburg, Mississippi

November 5, 1863

. . . Enclosed I send you a photograph of Maj. Genl. Grant. It is a good likeness and you can see exactly how he looks. I also send one of Genl. Logan, which looks exactly like him. You will see that Grant is a plain unassuming, unostentatious man, who does not look at all as you "thought he did." Logan has an eye like a hawk; and all the time full of the old Nick — alias whisky — nevertheless he can fight and he *can talk*, as Minor's Copperheads can testify. Grant *does not drink any whisky*; or intoxicating liquor of any kind; cannot make a speech, but *quietly* attends to his own business, which is now and has been for sometime quite a "little bizz," and I think he is able to attend to it. . . .

Vicksburg, Mississippi

November 13, 1863

. . . To day I happened to ride into town just in time to see Genl. Logan review his Division and hear him make a farewell speech.⁷² He goes to Ten-

⁷² Logan had just assumed command of the 15th Army Corps, relieving Gen. Frank P. Blair. *Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman* . . . (2 vols., New York, 1891), 1:415. Hereafter cited as *Sherman, Memoirs*.

nessee to take a larger command in a more active field. He is a good *stump speaker* and a fighting general.

Grant is surrounding himself with the inevitable elements of success. Sherman, Hooker, Thomas, Burnside, Logan, Ord, McPherson, Hurlbut, Tuttle and others are excellent Department, Corp, and Division Commanders. I think that Grant can so combine and direct the efforts of all as to insure success. . . .

There is considerable Small Pox among Negroes and citizens. I revaccinated about 100 men to day, simply to be on the safe side as *all* had been vaccinated last winter and spring. We have not had a case in the regt. during the past year, though it has been in every other regt. in the Division. . . .

Vicksburg, Mississippi

November 23, 1863

. . . I have but very little to do, our sick report having averaged from 6 to 12 daily "off duty." The condition (as to health — sanitary) of the regt. has once again been the occasion of conversation and *investigation* this time from HdQrs 17th Army Corp., by order of Major Genl. McPherson. The reports have been closely watched for 2 or 3 months; (and in the language of a Medical Inspector of U. S. Army with rank of Lt. Colonel (Regular Army) who came from Washington to examine sanitary conditions of the Army Corp) — he said the "reports from this regt." when taken in connection with the other Regts of the Corp. "were *incredible*" — "and he should give that regt. a most *searching investigation*" — Last Saturday forenoon (Nov. 21st) I went to town on some business and took with me our hospital clerk, who keeps the books, records, draws rations, etc. . . .

When I returned about noon, I found the nurses in hospital, cook, and hospital steward considerably (for soldiers) excited. They told me I had not been gone more than 15 minutes, when a Lt. Col. rode up and inquired for the Surgn. — I was gone — He asked them for the Hospital Steward, who came out. When the officer said, "I have come to examine this *immortal* regt. and examine into these *incredible* 'reports' which you are sending to HdQrs." — en passant — the nurses say the man was either drunk or a fool, or *both*, as he put on more airs than a Major General. My opinion is that he *may* have been "*slightly tight*" but principally that he thought himself a *Regular Army* man with rank of Lt. Col. — among the highest in rank of the Medical Dept. of the Army. In plain English, he thought himself a "big bug" and *ordered* the steward and nurses around in a very disagreeable —

to them — manner. First he walked into the hospital, *ordering* the steward and nurses to “come in here.” He found but two men in bed. Is this all you have got in hospital? No. — Where are the rest and where are they and how many? Bring them here immediately, do you hear? The others (two men) were standing there and were pointed out to him. Is that *all*, only 4 men in hospital? Yes, sir. The two men in bed were *very* sick, one with unusually severe form of Erysipelas of head and face, had only been sick 3 days and looked frightful. You could scarcely tell that the man had any nose or eyes. The other was a case of Acute Inflammatory Rheumatism, had been sick 4 days. The Dr. examined both cases very carefully, and inquired, What is the Dr. giving these men? The nurse handed him my book in which I write the prescriptions and directions and leave in hospital *all* the time. He looked at what I was that day giving the men, and then sat down and examined closely for ten minutes my back Pre[scriptions]. They were all in the book since August 20th. He counted the number each day and asked if *all* hospital prescriptions had been kept in this book. Yes, sir. He would take the name of a man sick in August or Sept. and ask what was the matter with that man? — as the name of disease was not mentioned; and then he would follow and examine the prescription and directions of treatment of that case clear through. He finally got up, looked *all over* the hospital tent and said, “Well, it is as well fixed as you can have it, ‘*in the field.*’ ” Is *this* prescription book *all* the book you keep? No, sir; the books are in the Drs. tent. I want to see them. Where is tent? The steward took him into my tent, handed him the books and told him there are the books. I do not know anything about them, as the Dr. has a *clerk* to keep them. Has a *clerk* to keep them — *He has no right to a clerk.* That is your business, why dont you attend to it, sir? Reply was — I do as I am ordered to. The Dr. sat down and examined the books as follows: Register of Sick; Prescription and Diet Book; Letter and Order Book; Invoice Book — in which have to be copied all orders received and official letters received or sent — Morning Report Book; Account of condition of Hospital fund, etc. They are kept in a very neat manner *by the clerk* who is an *excellent pensman* and has a slight delicate constitution, unable to endure the *ordinary duties* of a soldier; consequently we use him as hospital clerk and he has been such for the past 18 months. The Dr. found some fault with the books. He would not think he was an Inspector if he did not, but said they were well kept. He asked a number of questions and left with his compliments to the Surgeon and he

should have been very glad to have seen him. He then went to the Col. and asked him to explain, *if he knew*, the cause of the "incredible" condition of his regt., and if the number of sick was *actually* as reported during the past four months. The latter *insinuation* the Col. resented as an insult to himself personally, and the Dr. apologised. The Col. stated several reasons which as he thought had influenced it, but said that it was *principally* due to the Surgeons, whom *he* considered unsurpassed in the Army of the Tennessee — and in whom the *men* had perfect confidence. The above was reported to me as a portion of the conversation between the Col. and Inspector. The above occurred on Saturday; yesterday, Sunday, the Medical Director of the 17th Army Corp with *his wife* and children came out and my hospital etc. was again *inspected*. I was at home *this time* and they sat chatting in my tent for 1/2 hour. Had I been at home on *Saturday*, the inspection would not have been quite so *radical*.

The result of it all is as follows. Yesterday, Col. Clark, Adj. Genl. to Genl. McPherson, came out to our camp, visited the hospital, and informed the Col. that Dr. Thomas would be recommended for promotion to Surgeon U. S. V.⁷³ and myself to Surgeon of the Regt. I do not think however that it will amount to anything other than simply *complimentary*, as that is not the method in which Surgeons of U. S. V. receive their commissions. I consider that I am responsible for above to my *full* share; having since August 1st made 5/6th of the Pres[criptions] made in the Regt. and having attended all the sick in hospital except 5 or 6 days while I was sick, and have done *all* that has been done *in the Regt.* since the 15th of September. So much, for so much. I have told you the above as a *matter of course*, but would prefer that you should not repeat it outside the family as it would be considered *mere gas*. . . .

Vicksburg, Mississippi

January 17, 1864

. . . During my absence [on furlough] there was a great *revival* in our regiment. The boys took up the recruiting for the Veteran Service in regular camp meeting style.⁷⁴ Had a "Mourners bench," singing, speaking, etc., "class meetings" where the converts would relate their "experience." During singing, mourners were invited to come forward and each additionl mourner,

⁷³ United States Volunteers, as distinguished from the regular army.

⁷⁴ Soldiers whose three-year enlistments were expiring were encouraged to reenlist as "veterans."

i. e. recruit, was received with shouts of glory, hallelujah etc. In a short time, he would "experience" pardon, and *feel* that he was admitted in to the Veteran "fold" when he would spring up with shouts and embrace the brethren, — no sistern present to embrace. The *revival* lasted two days. They received 326 converts, nearly all that were eligible, that is that had served two years or more — about 50 have not served quite two years, consequently could not reenlist as Veterans. It is said to have been a very laughable scene. . . .

Vicksburg, Mississippi

January 24, 1863

. . . This forenoon, I went to Episcopal church in town. I find that the congregation were "high church" and as near Romanism as any necessity for; in the dress of the ladies what more particularly attracted my notice was the old fashion of their bonnets, the dirty faded *yellow* straw, and faded ribbons, in contrast with their rich silk dresses and rich shawls and mantles. The bonnets were evidently of more perishable material, and an evidence that their wearers had found Secessia a hard road to "trabbel" as nothing but absolute necessity would have induced some of the proud damsels to exhibit themselves to the public gaze in such faded headgear. . . .

Yesterday afternoon, I witnessed a "drill" by 3 regiments, contesting for a fine flag to be awarded to the best regiment in 3d Division 17th Army Corp. The best regt. of each brigade drilled yesterday, the 78th Ohio, the 124th Ill., and the 17th Ill. I had not attended before, wishing only to see the *best*, the final test between the three best. It was a sight worth seeing. Each regt. appearing and doing their best. 1st came the 78th Ohio who drilled for one hour, their guns and accoutrements bright and shining, many of the men with white gloves and going through the most difficult manouvers with a rapidity and precision truly remarkable. When they had finished, I supposed they had won the flag. The 17th Ill. followed for one hour. They were not as carefully dressed, did not seem to enter into the spirit of the strife, and although showing perfect familiarity with the evolutions etc. did not do as well as the 78th Ohio, apparently as much because they did not seem to care as not because they could not. Lastly came the 124th Ill., the largest regt. of the three. *Every man* dressed *exactly* alike, *white gloves*, *white collars*, military caps (not a slouch hat among them), frock coats, light blue pants, arms, accoutrements and *buttons* glistened like burnished gold and silver. They moved as one man and performed nearly all their

evolutions at the "double quick" — Making a bayonet charge for about 200 yards with a "yell" and at the double quick — for *another hour*, they held several thousand spectators delighted with their evolutions. It was acknowledged by all to be the finest thing they had ever seen. Between the *drill* of the 78th Ohio and 124th Ill., neither can claim superiority, in different evolutions each excelled the other in some particulars; the 124th however received the flag because they equaled in *drill* and excelled in other soldierly qualities: as *attention to dress*, police of camp, and general good behavior *as soldiers*. The flag is held liable to a challenge from any regt. in the Division upon five days notice, the regt. carrying it being entitled the "banner" regt. of the Division. . . .

Our regiment has been "mustered in" as a Veteran regt., 326 men. We will be paid in a few days (this week) and *probably* will start for Iowa in 8 or 10 days. The probabilities are that I shall not accompany regt. north. Not wishing to go in for 3 years more, I tendered my resignation and persuaded the Colonel to "approve" and forward it, and had really hoped that it would be accepted. Today it was returned *dis-approved* — so that I can exclaim with the illustrious ———, "Its no use a blowin, for I am bound to be a soldier, by the jingoes, or die." . . .

Meridian, Mississippi

February 19, 1864

We are here in the center of the Southern confederacy and seventeen days out from Vicksburg.⁷⁵ Yesterday was one of the coldest days we have had this winter. Last night it froze *very* hard, though it freezes nearly every night. The Expedition consists of a large portion of the 16th and 17th Army Corp, our brigade being the only portion of our Division (the 1st) that is along; the remainder of the Division being left to garrison Vicksburg. Before you receive this, you will see full accounts in the papers and as their stories may seem large, I will simply [tell] what I *know*.

⁷⁵ Sherman, now in command of the Army of the Tennessee, wished to disperse the Confederate groups on each side of the Mississippi who were harassing the river shipping. Obtaining permission from Grant, Sherman prepared to move his army from Memphis, and McPherson's from Vicksburg, south as far as Meridian, Miss. Meanwhile, Gen. N. P. Banks on the west side of the river was to strike at the Confederates there. Banks's "Red River Campaign" was a failure; but Sherman's Meridian expedition was highly successful. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:415-17, 418, 420. The 11th, 13th, 15th, and 16th Iowa were now the 3rd brig., 1st div., 17th Army Corps, under Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson. *Official Records*, Vol. XXXII, Part I, 170.

Soon after we crossed Black River (on the 4th) the Rebs commenced skirmishing with our advance and stood firmly, apparently resolved that we *should not* advance. They fought all day, forming one line of battle after another; the same on the 5th and 6th. The only result was a *few* killed and wounded on both sides and it only *slightly* retarded our advance. At Jackson we nearly captured them, did take one of their guns, and they did not have time to destroy their fine pontoon bridge over Pearl River. A large portion of the remainder of Jackson was burned. They had the railroad repaired and cars running to Pearl River and bridge over Pearl nearly completed. We destroyed the RR bridge and began destroying the road east as we marched, passing through Brandon, Hillsboro, Decatur, on to this place, sending detachments to burn all RR bridges and destroy road — as our line of march was north of the RR. No resistance worth mentioning has been made east of Jackson, though they have 10 to 15000 troops running away from us, and I do not think our force exceeds 23000,⁷⁶ though we have an *immense* wagon train, probably 800 wagons. The country is the poorest I ever saw, one immense pine forest, and on our line of march has been entirely destroyed — *all* houses not inhabited being burned, and *all* provisions and corn being taken to feed the army. *All* business and public houses, and very many private houses in Jackson, Brandon, Hillsboro, Decatur, Lake Station, and *all along the road* were burned. Burning houses, fences, and forests marked our line of march, and the country behind us is now a desolate uninhabitable wilderness. I do not approve of the indiscriminate destruction and its horrors can only be realized by witnessing them. We have taken many prisoners and *many* deserters have come to us. I have seen a number of small boys 14 to 17 years of age, who were captured with arms, most of them had become *tired out* and laid down to rest and were found *sleeping* by the side of the road.

Here at Meridian were *immense* depot buildings, warehouses, hospitals, and barracks to accommodate 20,000 to 30,000 troops, gun factory, etc., but very few houses now remain in Meridian and our forces are engaged in *totally* destroying the RR south 30 miles, east and north as far as possible.⁷⁷ Our advance came into Meridian on the 14th and have since been

⁷⁶ The Meridian Expedition of the 16th and 17th Army Corps consisted of 26,847 men. *Official Records*, Vol. XXXII, Part I, 172.

⁷⁷ Sherman reported that while at Meridian his army "made the most complete destruction of railroads ever beheld. . . ." *Ibid.*, 173.

busily engaged in the work of destruction. Our brigade was left with the train, 17 miles east of Meridian, as a *hard* fight was *expected here*, and also a desperate effort to destroy train. The effort to destroy train was made, but no fight here. A division of Rebel Cavalry under Genl. Lee came around the train but did not dare attack, as indeed they could not have done with success as the wagons were "corraled" in circles and the mules confined inside so that they could not be stampeded. Yesterday (the 18th) our brigade was relieved from guarding train and came here. I have seen and conversed with a number of the inhabitants on this trip who are *really* and *truly* union. I have heard the *children* sing union songs composed in the south and they have told me some facts of the manner in which they have been *persecuted*. They are *poor, ignorant* creatures and beg us to take them with us. We have had splendid weather, only one rain storm, last Monday. We have *no* tents and the food would not be very palatable — at home. If it should rain, the roads will become almost impassable for our trains.

We start for Vicksburg tomorrow, distant by the road we will take about 175 miles, and our brigade has but two days rations left, so you see we *have* to live off the country. . . .

Canton, Mississippi

February 27, 1864

We arrived here yesterday noon, having left Meridian on the 20th. From Meridian the 16th Army Corp. went east to Alabama State Line, thence *north* and returned through Marion and on a road north of the one we went out on, to Hillsboro. A portion of the 17th Corp. went *south* of Meridian, through Enterprise etc. 30 miles, destroying RR and bridges, then returned to point where we "corraled" train 17 miles east of Meridian and 17th Corp. returned by same then went out on road to Hillsboro. The two Corps meeting there, coming in together. Again the corps separated. The 17th Corp — except our brigade — taking the *lower* road and the 16th Corp. the upper road, our brigade with a regt. of cavalry, a battery, a pioneer corp., and the pontoon trains being sent in advance of the 16th Corp. to Pearl River, 14 miles from this place. We were sent in advance to build pontoon bridge over Pearl. Marching 29 miles in one day. The rest of the army making 15 miles, and finding the bridge nearly completed by the time they arrived. Our brigade was selected to send forward because it is considered the best marching brigade in the army, once before on this expedition having been sent forward for a *rapid* advance when we marched

18 miles in six hours, the men carrying guns, blankets, 60 rounds of cartridges, and two days rations. Their endurance is almost incredible. Our brigade came on in advance to this place. Last eve the 16th Corp passed through, taking north from here toward Yazoo City. The 17th Corp. (except our brigade) is in "bivouac" about two miles east of town.

We have just received orders to send the sick and those unable to march to Vicksburg and 4 regts. go to guard them through, the Negroes following us (about 1500 to 2000), and the white refugees, a large number of whom are taking the opportunity to escape from the Dominions of Jeff, will also go forward tomorrow. . . .

We have had the finest weather that could have been desired. 25 days out from Vicksburg and rain only one day, or rather $\frac{1}{2}$ a day. Canton is the prettiest inland town I have seen since Holly Springs. There are also more white negroes here than I have seen since then.

To exhibit the fine condition of our regt., we have been out 25 days, have marched 300 miles, and have not one man to send forward with the sick or those unable to march. For myself, I am about as dirty and healthy as the best of them; not an officer in the regt. has a tent or cot, and I do not think there are a dozen tents with the whole army. All from Genl. Sherman down are taking it in the rough. We have been in the Pitch Pine region, and are black with smoke and dust, and one glance proves most conclusively that we are no holiday soldiers. I started with the clothes I wore and one extra under shirt and pair of drawers, rolled up in my blankets and strapped on to my saddle, and that is more than most of the officers brought, so you know we are dirty; but we are a jolly crowd nevertheless, and have any amount of fun at each others expense. Have plenty to eat, corn meal, beef and pork, plenty of money, as provisions are cheap; and we eat, sleep, and live out of doors and in fact all seem to feel glad that they "joined the army." We have some curiosity to know what is occurring in America, but so far as we are concerned are able to take care of ourselves.

A cavalry force, six or eight thousand, under Genl. Smith was expected from Memphis to make a junction with us at Meridian.⁷⁸ They did not

⁷⁸ Sherman had ordered Brig. Gen. W. Sooy Smith, in command of 7,500 cavalry, to leave Memphis on Feb. 1 in pursuit of the Confederate cavalry under Gen. Nathan B. Forrest, and then to join Sherman at Meridian. Instead of following orders, Smith did not leave Memphis until Feb. 11, and was headed off by Forrest, who then defeated him at West Point, near Okalona, on the Mobile & Ohio RR. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 1:417, 422.

come to time and we heard nothing of them untill yesterday, when we heard *secesh rumors* that they had been driven back. You at the north know of it, but the objects of the expedition were *fully* and *entirely* accomplished without their aid. The RR of Mississippi are so *effectually* destroyed that the rebs cannot rebuild them and consequently cannot support an army in this state again. . . .

Destruction marked our progress untill yesterday when we crossed to the west bank of Pearl River; *then* Genl. Sherman issued an order, "No more pillaging, foraging, or burning" and it would be impossible to find a more quiet and *polite* army than ours has been since. You have no idea how pleasant the change is — to me at least — *now*, no soldier enters a house on the road. Pigs, chickens and turkeys run by unmolested, all is quiet and *orderly*. . . .

Vicksburg, Mississippi

March 5, 1864

We arrived all safe in camp once more last evening at 6½ o'clock p. m., having marched 26 miles during the day. . . .

We left Canton March 1st. It rained quite hard for several hours before we left, making the roads very bad. Our brigade was the last to leave Canton and did not get more than a mile from town by dark, but kept "tugging" along through the swamp untill 2 o'clock a. m. The Rebs fired into our rear and killed 2 or three cavalrymen, a few of whom were behind our brigade; there was very considerable firing for several hours. The rain caused the march in, from Canton 60 miles, to be the most disagreeable part of our trip. We passed through Livingston and Brownsville, small villages on our way. Six to ten thousand Negroes came in with us; and when I feel more like writing than I do tonight, I may try to describe the scene, but no description can properly do it justice. It *must* be *seen* to be appreciated.

When the appearance of rain came up while we were at Canton, Dr. Thomas and I took possession of the office of the Genl. Superintendent of the RR, and also of the telegraph office in same building. I found a large number of telegrams of much interest as many of them were the dispatches of the Rebel Genl., giving their *movements*, strength, etc., as we advanced from Vicksburg. I will send you a few as specimens. Preserve them, especially the one in cypher. I *copied* that, giving the original manuscript (in Genl. Loring's handwriting) to Genl. McPherson. I am convinced by

the dispatches I found that the Rebs had along the RR from Jackson to Oxford *not less* than twenty thousand men, which greatly increased my surprise that we made such an easy and *perfectly successfull* expedition entirely through the state — our force *I think not exceeding* 22,000. . . .

Memphis, Tennessee

March 11, 1864

We (the 13th Reg.) are now (at noon) here on board Steamer Madison en route for Iowa as *Veteran Vol[unteers]*.⁷⁹ Expect to arrive at Davenport on the 16th (then have 30 days in Iowa). I may go *first* to Ottumwa, if I do not, may be in DeGraff [Ohio] about the 22d.⁸⁰ I shall have to *return* with regt., my resignation not yet having been accepted and probably *will not be*. . . .

On Board Steamer "Jennie Whipple"

March 16, 1864

I wrote you from Memphis on the 11th. We arrived at Davenport on yesterday morning by cars from Cairo. I found I could procure transportation to any point *in* the state but not out of it; consequently this morning took the boat for Burlington and will tomorrow forenoon reach Ottumwa. . . .

Cairo, Illinois

April 26, 1864

. . . I yesterday obtained permission to send a man to Vicksburg after my horse saddle and bridle and other things left there, so that I shall probably not lose my horse, as I supposed I should. . . .

We expect to start tomorrow on what you will see mentioned as the "Tennessee River" expedition.⁸¹ I do not know what force goes or what is the object, but suppose it is probably some useless *infantry* chase after Forrests *mounted* men. We will *not* return here and will probably finally come to light somewhere in the neighborhood of Huntsville, Ala. We leave our camp and garrison equipage behind us and take it again *in the rough*. . . .

Cairo, Illinois

April 30, 1864

. . . I suppose you will be surprised to hear from me at Cairo, after my

⁷⁹ Those in the regiments who had re-enlisted as veterans were given a 30-day furlough.

⁸⁰ Thrall's wife spent the war years in DeGraff, Ohio, with relatives.

⁸¹ Troops were being gathered to go east to join Sherman's expedition against Atlanta, Georgia.

letter of the 26th, but it is no use to be surprised at anything in the army. My Regt. left on 27th and went up the Tennessee River; just before they started, I received an order to remain and take charge of *detachments* of various regt. left here, portions of 10 or 12 regts., altogether about a thousand men, 175 of our own regt. being left, not yet being *armed and equipped*. I have had a *gay* old time of it; ordered to take care of that number of men *without anything to do it with*, and 200 of them sick, pretending to be sick, and *home sick recruits*, camped in the mudhole around Cairo. I picked up a little medicine wherever I could find it and did *not wish* but for a *little work* 12 hours a day and sleep as sound as a dollar (in greenbacks) at night. I think however I shall get out of it in a few days and follow my regt. up the Tennessee. I managed to send 30 of the *sick* ones to General Hospital at Mound City today, so that it will be a great deal easier now, though in a few days longer I suppose there will be 20 or 30 more to send. The 15th Iowa came in today and go up the Tennessee tomorrow. Capt. Porter is sick and will not be able to go. . . .

Cairo, Illinois

May 5, 1864

I am free, white, and twenty one. Interpreted, the above means that my resignation is *accepted*, and I have it in my pocket. I am a *citizen* of the state of Iowa. I shall remain here a few days to wait for my horse etc. which I had sent to Vicksburg for. I *may get* it so as to *take home with me*. I *may* have to wait 8 or 10 days. I *may not* get the horse at all, but the probability will *pay* for the waiting. . . .

[Letter from Dr. Thomas to Dr. Thrall]

Marietta, Ga. Nov. 10th 1864

Savannah, Ga., December 20

I will try and give you a short history of our summer and fall campaign, in fact we have had but one campaign and that is still continuing. And so long as Gen. Sherman holds command, it will not end. He is one of the most indefatigable workers in the field. If we had more of such, our cause would loome up more brightly.

We left Cairo on the 6th of May or about that time and arived at Clifton, a small dilapidated vilage on the Tennessee river about 130 miles above Paducah. After resting there for a few days, we started for the seat of war. We arrivd at Huntsrell, Al. [sic. Huntsville, Alabama] about the 24. The

country we passed over was hilly and sterile except occasional vallies along small watercourses in which the country abounds. We had verry fine weather generally during the summer and [the] march in the main was easy, and the boys generally stood it well with the exception of a few gunshot cases. . . . We remained at Huntsrell a few days untill the balance of the Corpse came up. Upon their arrival, we retraced our steps to Decatur, Ala., and there crossed the Tennessee River, and carefully pushed on untill we arived with the Main Army at Ackworth on the 3rd of June.⁸²

Johnson [*sic.* Joseph E. Johnston] at that time had fallen back to the Kenesaw Mountains where he was strongly entrenched. We the next day marched to Bigshantee, about six miles from the mountain where our forces had a small skirmish. On the following morning, we formed a line of battle and advanced to within some three miles of the mountains and threw up breastworks, and gradually commenced our approach. And here commenced our cesions [*sic.* season's] campaign. Day and night was constantly employed either in skirmishing or advancing our lines which frequently grew into a well-proportioned fight. The position occupied by the enemy was securely impregnable, situated upon and along the sides of a mountain at least 1000 feet high, strongly entrench[ed] with heavy breastworks in front of the mountain from which the rebels had to be driven, requiring frequent charges, many of which were disasterous. To have driven them from this position by direct attack was utterly impossible and to cause them to evackuate, Sherman had to resort to one of his masterly flank movements, all of which were made by the Army of the Tennessee and never without a fight. The movement was made and Johnson fell back to the Chattahoocha River.

Here again, another flank movement and we march[ed] from the right to left, crossing the river above him some 15 mile and marching upon Decatur 8 mile from Atlanta on the Atlanta and Augusta Ga. railroad. We drove the enemy easily from this place, but while we were marching around to cross the river, Johnson crossed over to Atlanta and on the 20 of July, attacked the 20 Corp. under Hooker with great legions but was disasterously repulsed. A few days before this, Johnson was removed and Hood [Gen. John B. Hood] placed in command with the promise to fight us and defend Atlanta. On the 21st, he attacked our corps. and on the 22nd in which we suffered greatly, but they far more. Our loss in the two days was some

⁸² For a brief account of Sherman's Atlanta campaign, see Throne, "Iowans and the Civil War," 422-30.

3500, theirs from 12 to 15000. We lost many good men, amongst them was Gen. McPherson and our greatest loss in the regiment was Maj. Walker.⁸³ The 21 and 22 were the most desperately contested fights we were engaged in. We lost about 200 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. Our Division was perfectly enveloped. They were attacked in front and both flanks. They fought upon both sides of their breastworks. They crossed them six different times. Major Walker was killed on the 22nd, leading his men on. He was shot through the head with a musket ball and afterwards had his skull stove in by the butt of a musket. He was brought to the hospital the following day and buried. He looked very natural. I regreted very much the loss of him. He was not a brilliant officer, but a very deserving and reliable one, and was much loved and respected by the regiment. Up to this time, we had but little to do in our division hospital. I had the supreme felicity of having the honor of being Surgeon in charge, as I now have to being Surgeon in Chief of the 4 Division (heavy dose). In the two days fight, I had from five to six hundred men thrown upon my hands and not anything in the way of hospital supplies. Anything the regiments had in the shape of blankets, sheets, ticks, clothing, etc. had been used in sending off wounded before crossing the river and no connection with Medical Purveyor or Sanitary Commission could be had for several days. It was distressing to see our brave boys without anything to wear or anything better to eat than hardtack and sow belly. We have had nothing but war in all its horrors this summer.

For three months, we had daily fighting and more or less killed or wounded daily. The men all kept in the ditches constantly, close up under the rebel batteries as they could get with Division, Brigade, and Regimental headquarters close up behind the main line of battle. And hospital so close that shells frequently bursted in and around it. On the 22nd, my hospital was in fair range of the rebel guns and bullets came in so thick we had to put up breastworks around the wards the wounded were in. At one time, the rebels drove the 16 Corps back until they were within two hundred yards of us. I at one time made up my mind to travel in Dixey. I was sure we would be captured so much so I sent away the surgeons, intending

⁸³ William A. Walker of Vinton enlisted as 2nd lieutenant, Co. G, 13th Iowa; was promoted to captain, Oct. 31, 1861; to major, Mar. 13, 1863. He was killed July 22, 1864, at Atlanta. *Roster and Record*, 2:710. For the battle of Atlanta and the death of McPherson, see Throne, "Iowans and the Civil War," 424-5.

to remain with my wounded if they were captured; but happily, we were saved that misfortune after this. And during the balance of the seige, we lost but few men, and at the present time we have the finest health I have ever known the regiment to enjoy. We havn't a sick man and none but can do duty. The health of the command has been better this summer than last.

This has been the finest country to campaign in I have seen. We have not lost a man by sickness in the regiment this summer; and in fact, during the last year, our boys have not had time to get sick, but if we get the new Conscripts that we are expecting, we will catch grief. I am in hopes they will not arive so as to go with us on our contemplated raid to the coast. We used to think transportation short when you were with us, but now we have one six mule team to the regiment, and one to two regiments for the hospital and the ambulances behind the division. The hospital teams with the supply trains, and frequently they are not up with the regiment for four or five days. That is what we call the glory and pomp of war. Do you not regret leaving the service, and loosing all these luxeries. Nobody is allowed to carry a field dish or hardly a second shirt. Our non veterans are all mustered out including Col. Shane, and nearly all of the line officers. We expect 400 conscripts that will entitle us to a Colonel. We have recommended Capt. Kenneday to be promoted over Maj. Marshall, expecting that Lt. Col. Wilson will be mustered out as his time of servise expires with the non vets.⁸⁴ . . .

After the capture of Atlanta, the army was promised a rest, but Mr. Hood not being very well satisfied with the result of the campaign began to exhibit signes of restiveness and a disposition to get into the rear of Sherman. But he, true to his instincts, sent out a portion of his army including our division upon *one* grand reckanoisense to satisfy himself of the intentions of the redoubtable Southren heroe who was to so successfully destroy and mutilate Sherman and his vandal hordes. And the investigations confirmed his suspicions. And rumors that Hood was attempting a flank move to get into the rear and completely obstruct and destroy his com-

⁸⁴ Col. Shane resigned Nov. 9, 1864, and was succeeded by James Wilson of Newton, who had risen from 1st lieut. of Co. B, 13th Iowa, to Lt. col. on Mar. 13, 1863. Justin C. Kennedy of Mount Vernon, capt. of Co. A, was promoted to Lt. col. of the regiment, Jan. 1, 1865. Thomas P. Marshall of Marshalltown, originally capt. of Co. H, became major of the regiment on July 23, 1864, the day after he was seriously wounded at the battle of Atlanta. He resigned Apr. 6, 1865. *Roster and Record*, 2:563, 635, 658, 704.

munication with hardtack, which is the soldiers stronghold. Hood crossed some twenty miles below Atlanta and was at or near Bigshantee before Sherman could get ready to move, and a heavy rain at that time raised the Chattahoochee and washed away a part of the bridge causing a few days delay which gave Hood time to destroy the road for a number of miles. But when he [Sherman] could move, he soon compelled [Hood] to abandon the R Road and flee to the mountains after following far enough to make him believe he intended to pursue him to the north pole or get a fight out of him, which Hood did not designe giving. [Sherman] sudden[ly] turned back and gained Atlanta and started immediately upon his expedition to the coast. We considered the Meridian trip one of the finest we had been on, and at that time, it was; but I think it does not hold any comparison to this. We have had about as good weather and then the country we have passed through is very much better. I enjoyed the trip very much. I should have enjoyed it more if you had been along. We met no force that delayed us at all. It most clearly proves how destitute they are of men. There principle forces are with Lee and Hood. We can go any where we should please to.

The country after leaving Atlanta some eighty miles becomes level, the soil sandy, the principale timber is Pitch Pine, similar to the Meridian, the soil is well adapted to raising cotton, sugar cane, sweete potatoes, and yams and peas. We saw but few finely improved plantations though many large ones. We found forage in abundance and used it liberally. We allmost entirely lived off of the country.

We in a measure procured mules enough to make an entire new outfit to our teams, and many good horses, enough to fit out completely the different Headquarters down to Regimental except your humble Servant. He obtained non[e]. I bought one last spring at Huntsrill, Alabama, and [am] the only one since you left that owns a private horse. Some of the horses were very fine. Gen. Blair has as beautiful a mare as I have seen for many a day. A present from Gen. Smith, one of whose staff took it from some of the boyes who was out and captured it. Quite easy to make presents.

The citizens through this part of Georgia are something. More intelligent than those we saw on the Mississippi trip, although many here do not hardly know the day of the weeke. There has been a large amount of property destroyed as usual and a verry large amount of pilfering and robbery. Your old cook at Cairo I guess raised some gold and a few watches. He was

foraging all the way through. We are now within a few miles of Savannah, have her surrounded unless they can get out by crossing the river into South Carolina, but I think we will capture all that are in the city. It is one of the most difficult places we have attempted to approach. It is perfectly level and surrounded by swamp with a canall running through it from the Savannah River to the Oguchee, by which they can flood the whole country which they have don.

We have to make a large amount of the road that we drive over. A few teams passing over it cuts through so as to swamp mules and wagons. You can see a great many mules, horses, and beef cattle swamped, and then died. We have been for some ten days without any rations except sugar and coffee except what rice and corn we could gather. Corn is scarce, but plenty of rice, but it is not hulled. We have to hull it by the use of pessel and mortar made of wood. Something similar to the old fashioned homany pounders, but now we will get along as we received hardtack yesterday, Dec. 19, and of much better quality than we have been in the habit of getting use to.

The first Division of the 15th Corps don quite a galliant thing a few days ago in capturing Fort McAlister at the mouth of the Oguchee which had to be taken before vessels could come up with rations. They surrounded it upon the landside and went for it, and it was don so quick that they had no time to do much damage. The principle injury sustained by our men was from torpedoes. The fort contained some 22 guns and three hundred men, all of which we got, and lost about sixty in all. We have lost so far non[e] in the 13th. On the first day approaching the city, we had in our Division some perhaps twenty killed and wounded. . . .

We are just beginning to get northren papers and it is rather amusing to read the extracts from southren papers to see how effectually they were using this army up. What bragarts. And if they were not too honorable and chivalrist, I would think they indulged a little in lying.

Well, S. B., I have run over the principle features of my campaigning this summer and winter, which has been a somewhat eventful one. It has at least been an active one, and attended with up to the present entire success. Sherman is entitled to credit for his skill and the progress he has made toward crushing this rebellion. . . .

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society added 191 new members during the months of January, February, and March. The following became Life Members during this period: Miss Mavis Hanno, Le Mars; Ben J. Taylor, Fairfield; James W. Bell, Cedar Rapids; Mrs. Imogen B. Emery, Cedar Rapids; Miss Laura Lewis, Manchester; and Herb Plambeck, Des Moines.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

January 14	Spoke at Cedar County Historical Society meeting.
January 29	Attended Iowa Civil War Commission meeting in Des Moines.
February 7	Spoke to Henry County Historical Society.
March 8	Addressed Civil War Round Table in Iowa City.
March 14	Spoke to convention of Muscatine County Federated Women's Club at Wilton Junction.
April 3	Conferred with Dr. Russell Fridley of the Minnesota Historical Society on the impending meeting of the American Association for State and Local History at Iowa City.
April 6	Conference with officers of Women's Relief Corps.
April 9	Addressed Regional Meeting of Auxiliary of American Amvets at Oakdale.

Iowa Historical Activities

The thirty-eighth annual History Conference was held at the State University of Iowa in Iowa City, April 8-9, 1960. Papers were read by Paul A. Varg of Michigan State University, Norman A. Graebner of the University of Illinois, Franklin L. Ford of Harvard University, and James M. Becker of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Many of the records of the 34th Infantry Division of World War II have been turned over to the State Department of History and Archives at Des Moines. The records cover much of the Italian and African campaigns of the division.

A rifle which once belonged to Chief Keokuk has been presented to the city of Keokuk by A. J. Christensen of Oak Park, Illinois. The rifle was given to Chief Keokuk by the Danish government, according to an inscription on the stock of the gun. It will be on display in the historical rooms of the Keokuk Library.

At its first 1960 meeting, the Dallas County Historical Society elected the following officers: Mrs. Curtis W. Gregory, president; Mrs. Lloyd Heins, vice-president; and Miss Gretchen Mullins, secretary-treasurer. A centennial will be held at Redfield in July, 1960.

The McGregor Historical Society elected the following officers at its February meeting: Floyd Luce, president; Mary Elwell, vice-president; Dorothy K. Huebsch, secretary and treasurer; and Mrs. Lena D. Myers, curator.

A drive by the Dubuque County Historical Society to save the old lead shot tower at Dubuque has resulted in the collection of \$6,700. In addition, the city council has allocated \$5,000 to the project.

At the annual meeting of the Cedar County Historical Society on January 14, 1960, the following officers were elected: Curtis Frymoyer, president; Gordon Smith, vice-president; Mrs. Earl Elijah, secretary; and Mrs. Ina Barewald, treasurer. William J. Petersen, superintendent of the State Historical Society, spoke at the meeting.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARTICLES IN MIDWESTERN HISTORICAL JOURNALS

Cheese

- "The Rise and Decline of the Cheese Industry in Lorain County," by Frank C. Van Cleef, *Ohio Historical Quarterly*, January, 1960.

Civil War

- "Controversy in Kentucky: Braxton Bragg's Campaign of 1862," by Grady McWhiney, *Civil War History*, March, 1960.
"Abraham Lincoln and the Politicians," by William B. Hesseltine, *ibid.*
"Winfield S. Hancock and the Battle of Williamsburg," by Glenn Tucker, *ibid.*
"With Sigel at New Market: The Diary of Colonel D. H. Strother," ed. by Cecil D. Eby, Jr., *ibid.*

Economic

- "A Granville Cooper's Experience with Barter in the 1820's," by Peter Fox Smith, *Ohio Historical Quarterly*, January, 1960.
"Recent Writings on Midwestern Economic History," by Harry R. Stevens, *ibid.*

Immigrants

- "Critique of Carruth's Articles on Foreign Settlements in Kansas," by J. Neale Carman, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Winter, 1959.

Law

- "Law and Lawlessness in Rock Island Prior to 1850," by O. Fritiof Ander, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Winter, 1959.

Lead Mines

- "The First Kansas Lead Mines," by Walter H. Schoewe, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Winter, 1959.

Literary

- "Eugene Ware's Concern About a Woman, a Child, and God," by James C. Malin, *ibid.*

Local History

"Proposed Agenda for Illinois Historians," by Thomas E. Felt, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Winter, 1959.

McCormick, Robert R.

"My Life with the Colonel," by Walter Trohan, *ibid.*

Pony Express

"The Pony Express Rides Again," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Winter, 1959.

Prisons

"A Visit to the Ohio State Prison in 1837," ed. by Merton L. Dillon, *Ohio Historical Quarterly*, January, 1960.

Religion

"Religion in Kansas During the Era of the Civil War — Concluded," by Emory Lindquist, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Winter, 1959.

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COVER

Chicago — the Convention City — as it appeared when the Republicans met in their “Wigwam” and nominated Lincoln for President in 1860.

HISTORY AS HUMAN BEHAVIOR

*By Samuel P. Hays**

The study of history in both high schools and colleges, it seems to me, suffers from a lack of emphasis on the vital human quality of the past. It is concerned traditionally with the formal and outward aspects of events, and not with human experience, understanding, values, and action. This problem is the central theme of this paper. I hope primarily to suggest a number of ways in which we might approach more closely the human side of the past. By this I mean not simply ways of enhancing the "human interest" factor in history, but ways of systematically studying human experience and behavior so that solid and concrete generalizations emerge. My argument is that if we could develop this approach to history we would not only have a more significant story to tell, but would also arouse greater interest on the part of both high school and college students.

I

Perhaps the best example of formal history is the traditional political history which abounds in our textbooks. Here the major focus of organization centers around presidential administrations: nominating conventions, campaigns, cabinet meetings, the administration's legislative program and its treatment by Congress. This approach has been called "presidential history." Its main justification is not that it conforms to any major movements or changes in American society, but that it follows the rather accidental fact of our four-year presidential terms. It provides little room for an emphasis on political experience and behavior, nor does it give more than a brief insight into the ebb and flow of activity lying behind the outward events.

Economic history suffers from the same attention to the outward and formal, and the lack of attention to the dynamics of change. In most of our history books we learn about the rise of corporate combinations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We describe the legal forms

* Samuel P. Hays is associate professor of history at the State University of Iowa. This paper was read before the meeting of the Iowa State Education Association on November 6, 1959.

involved — the trust and the holding company — and we relate the number and size of combinations. But rarely do we go into the forces behind this. Rarely do we analyze the economic processes which led to the rise of such large combinations of capital. If we did this, we would spend less time talking about the number and size of combinations, and more about the way in which cheap transportation created, for the first time, a national market; the way in which a national market created, for the first time, intense competition for that market; the way in which producers all over the country tried to protect themselves against competition; and the way in which all economic segments of the nation began to take up collective effort to exercise control over market conditions. These economic processes are far more important than are figures about the number of combinations.

It is precisely this formal approach to history which makes history unsatisfactory to many students. Those who seek an analysis of human society often fail to find it in history and go elsewhere. These views stem from conversations with a great number of students about both their high school and their college history courses. I have come to the conclusion that the more a history course touches the human content of the past the more challenging and satisfying it is to the student. Those courses which are dull and boring seem to consist of memorization of the outward and formal facts of history; those which are more exciting involve a treatment of human experience, human understanding, and human values.

In my own teaching I have observed that the closer one approaches the human situation the more interest rises. I do not mean this in terms of the popular definition of "human interest," such as the last words of Nathan Hale, or the stock market manipulations of Jim Fisk and Jay Gould, or the illegitimate offspring of Grover Cleveland, or Coxey's army. I mean simply the systematic description of human experience, of the universal human situation faced by people in the past and which are faced by students in the present. I find, for example, that students react very positively to such a book as that by Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted*, an account of the immigrant in America told from the point of view of the immigrant, an analysis of his experience of being uprooted from a traditional and stable European culture and abruptly entering a more mobile and traditionless society. Handlin's major contribution is that he sees history from the inside out. And this I think challenges students and captures their imagination, because all of us inevitably see life from the inside out.

Both of these general concerns point, it seems to me, in one direction — that history must be considered more in terms of human behavior. The reason that much of history is formal and unsatisfying is because the units of history we write and talk and teach about do not consist of types of human experience, thought, and behavior. By changing to this focus we can make history more meaningful from the point of view of the disinterested analyst, and also from the point of view of the student who will inevitably find some contact between his own experience and that of the past.

II

One important way in which we could make this change in focus is to shift attention from top-level affairs to grass-roots happenings. Most of our history is a description of events at the center of national politics, economic affairs, or intellectual life. This is true, for example, of the “presidential history” approach; it focuses on the activities of the office of the President and of Congress. This kind of history is easy to write because materials for it are usually available in a central place. And it is easy to teach because it is a simple way of giving a single focus to history. It is easier to talk about one President than about fifty governors; it is easier to describe the ideas of a few thinkers than of a large number of people. Yet, at the same time, it provides only a partial and limited view, and the limitations of the view can readily be realized once one focuses his attention closer to the grass-roots, to the state, the county, or municipal level. Evidence from this level indicates that top-level history not only leaves out many aspects of the past but often leads to the wrong conclusions.

Consider, for example, the period from 1877 to 1914. According to the traditional approach in history, the major development of the time was the so-called “trust” issue, the growth of business combinations, their influence in politics and government, and the reaction against them on the part of many segments of the community. Most of the chapters in our textbooks for this period are organized around some phase of this question, and evidence from the local or state level is selected to illustrate this national focus. The history of Iowa in the early twentieth century, for example, involves the Progressive revolt within the Republican party, described primarily as a reaction against railroad domination of Iowa politics, and considered to be merely another illustration of a national political trend.

But if one looks at evidence from grass-roots history for its own sake, and not as an illustration of national trends, he frequently comes to an

altogether different conclusion. For example, an examination of the precinct voting patterns in Iowa from 1885 to 1918 shows that the matters which most aroused voters, which determined party affiliations, and which filled the local newspapers were not connected with the "trust question" but were largely cultural in nature. They were such questions as the use of foreign language, Sunday observance, and above all prohibition. Defined in terms of how people voted, which is about as close to the grass-roots as one can get, the "trust question" was relatively unimportant, but the prohibition issue was of vast importance. Party differences in voting patterns were cultural, not economic, in nature. If one can argue that a single issue was more important than any other issue in Iowa between 1885 and 1918 it was prohibition.

But prohibition was more than an issue; it was the most specific aspect of a general conflict between patterns of culture in Iowa which dominated the political views of the people of the state for many years. One of these cultural patterns we can call, for want of a better term, Pietism. It stressed strict standards of behavior derived from Puritan sources, especially Sunday observance, and prohibition of gambling, dancing, and, above all, drinking alcoholic beverages. It was evangelistic; it exhorted individuals to undergo a dramatic transformation in their personal lives, to be converted, and it sought to impose these standards of personal character on the entire community by public, legal action. But there were others, whose pattern of culture was altogether different, who resisted these views. They came from a different cultural background, and their religion consisted more of a sequence of rituals and observances through which one passed from birth to death, with the primary focus of religion being the observance of those practices. For many of them Puritan morals meant little; Germans, for example, were accustomed to the continental Sunday of relaxation in beer gardens or to using wine for communion services.

These cultural differences divided groups in Iowa, and the voting patterns follow, to a remarkable degree, the differences in cultural patterns. On the one hand were the native Americans, from English and Scotch extraction, the Norwegians and Swedes, and the German Methodists and Presbyterians. On the other hand were the Irish, Bohemian, and German Catholics and the German Lutherans. In county after county in Iowa the persistently strong Republican precincts from 1885 to 1914 are predominantly from the first group, and the persistently strong Democratic pre-

cincts are from the second. Consider, for example, the precincts in Carroll County, Iowa. The eastern tier of townships, Jasper, Glidden, Richland, and Union, all strong native American (77, 84, 83, and 91 per cent, respectively, in 1880), between 1887 and 1914 averaged 33, 26, 34, and 33 per cent, respectively for the Democratic gubernatorial candidate. In the northwestern part of the county, on the other hand, four townships, Kniest, Wheatland, Roselle, and Washington, all heavily German (91, 78, 95, and 80 per cent, respectively, in 1880) and all heavily Catholic, over the same period of time and for the same race averaged 82, 83, 80, and 73 per cent Democratic. In displaying real distinctions in voting patterns, Carroll County is typical of most Iowa counties.

These were persistent distinctions, and led frequently to the importance of such issues as prohibition and woman's suffrage, which was part and parcel of the prohibition movement. In some elections they produced rather violent shifts in voting sentiment. In fact, one can argue that the only violent shifts in voting behavior came when such issues were present. The most striking of these was the gubernatorial election of 1916 when the Republican candidate, William Lloyd Harding, was an avowed "wet" and the Democratic candidate, Edwin T. Meredith, was "bone dry." This reversed the traditional roles of the parties; as a result many traditionally Democratic precincts voted heavily Republican, and some traditionally Republican precincts voted Democratic. There was no gubernatorial election up to the depression of 1929 which stirred voters so deeply.

When one begins to examine grass-roots behavior through election data at the precinct level or through local newspapers, one sees immediately that it was this kind of issue that stirred people deeply, that determined their political attitudes. It was far more important than the trust issue. By using this approach one feels that he is approaching more closely the human content of politics. It is becoming increasingly clear to me that very little of our top-level politics is understandable unless one knows the grass-roots context in which to place the top-level events. And basically what this means is that we have to examine what people feel and think and experience, and see their political action as a product of those inner events.

III

A second important shift in thinking that we must undergo concerns our notion of the significance of the role of government in American life. No phenomenon has more preoccupied historians of recent America than has

this one. But it is usually treated in such a way as to obscure rather than to illuminate the meaning of an increasing role of government. We have especially failed to distinguish between government as an end in itself, and government as a means to an end. All instances of increased federal functions, and all movements in that direction are considered by historians to be a part of the same historical trend, while all tendencies opposed to such federal functions are of a different development. "Presidential history" confirms this approach, for the ideology of top-level political battles is usually cast in terms of the desirability of more or less government. But these categories obscure the most important question, namely, what are the purposes to which government is put? History, it seems to me, should be organized around the goals of human action, not the techniques, around the ends rather than the means.

There are many cases in recent American history in which two tendencies, both of which increase the role of government and therefore appear to be of the same historical trend, may involve different and contradictory goals, and therefore be of quite different historical movements. Consider, for example, railroad regulation. The Hepburn Act establishing effective railroad regulation was passed in 1906. During the First World War the United States government operated the railroads under the United States Railroad Administration. After the war there was a debate over whether or not the railroads should be returned to their private owners. The debate culminated in the Transportation Act of 1920, by which the roads were returned. This Act, it has been argued, was a reversal of past trends; the logical extension of the spirit of the Hepburn Act would have been continued government ownership. The Transportation Act of 1920, on the other hand, was merely a part of the dominant private enterprise philosophy of the postwar era, of "the return to normalcy."

This reasoning is logical if one considers the problem purely as one of distinguishing between more or less government action. But the whole question becomes more complex when one asks: who wanted what and why? What groups were involved in the passage of both the Hepburn Act and the Transportation Act of 1920? Evidence concerning this problem discloses that the very groups which wanted more regulation in 1906 and fought for the Hepburn Act opposed continued government operation in 1920 and wanted the railroads returned to their private owners. In terms of the groups involved and their goals, then, the Transportation Act of

1920 with continued private ownership was not a reversal but a continuation of the tendencies behind the Hepburn Act. And if public ownership had become a reality, it would have been a sharp departure from the recent past.

The major force behind railroad regulation consisted of the organized shippers of the country, who wanted lower rates and better services. Although farmers constituted the voting support for the movement, the drive was led by merchants and manufacturers who shipped via railroad and who were organized in the Interstate Commerce Law Convention. After the passage of the Hepburn Act these groups used the machinery of the Interstate Commerce Commission to their advantage. Up until the First World War they were able to prevent attempts by both railroad owners and railroad labor to raise rates. But once the United States government took over the railroads and operated them, these advantages were lost. The powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission were suspended, and as a result the shippers lost a powerful friend at court. The railroads were placed in the hands of leaders in the industry who were brought into the Railroad Administration, and for the first time since the Hepburn Act the roads received substantial rate increases, and labor, in turn, received substantial wage increases. The shippers were unable to protest, for their machinery of appeal no longer existed. It was little wonder, therefore, that following the war shippers asked that railroads be returned to their private owners and that the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission be restored. These were provided in the Transportation Act of 1920.

These events are easily traceable if one examines as evidence the ideas and actions of the groups themselves which wanted railroad control. In Iowa the two most active of these groups among farmers, for example, were the Farmers Grain Dealers Association of Iowa, a state-wide trade association of farmer-owned grain cooperatives, and the Corn Belt Meat Producers Association, an organization of car-lot shippers of cattle and hogs. Both were concerned with sales problems, and both used railroads heavily for shipping. The proceedings of their conventions and the correspondence of their executive secretaries provides abundant evidence of their shipping problems and of their dissatisfaction with the operations of the United States Railroad Administration. And yet, strangely enough, while historians have written much about such general farm organizations as the National Grange, the Farmers' Union, and the American Society of Equity, they

have barely mentioned either the Grain Dealers or the Meat Producers. The reason, it seems to me, is because they cannot be readily used as a local illustration of a nationally-defined top-level political problem. And yet examination of their situation and their views on the state level helps enormously to redefine the character of national politics.

Government can be viewed most effectively by the historian if it is considered not as an end in itself, but as the context within which political struggles take place. All political groups in society contend for the control of the advantages which government has to offer: a shifting of the tax burden, positive financial aid, legal aid to restrict individual action where private groups cannot do so, or restrictions on competing groups. No one group seems to have a monopoly on the desire for positive government or for its elimination. The railroads, for example, were grateful for the stabilization of rates which the Interstate Commerce Commission provided. Consequently, the understanding of any particular government function must rest upon an analysis of the circumstances which give rise to that function, the groups which demand it, and the ends which will be served through it. And the categories in which we organize history must be in terms of those circumstances, groups, and goals, rather than the fact of government itself.

IV

An excellent opportunity for undertaking a grass-roots approach to history is provided by the use of election statistics. But this involves a different approach to the analysis of elections than we have used in the past. Elections are dealt with rather extensively in a "presidential history" approach, but usually only in terms of who won or who lost and by what percentage of the vote. Such an analysis is extremely limited, and yields very little understanding. It would be far more important to know how much change in voting sentiment had occurred since the last election, not just what percentage of the votes a winning candidate received. For the major fact in any election for the historian is change, and the amount of change usually determines the importance of the problem for study.

A "presidential history" approach may completely distort this whole question by emphasizing only the shift from one political party to another, while frequently the most important changes in voting sentiment occur without a change in party dominance. Suppose, for example, that the Democrats won the presidential election of 1948 by 50.1 per cent of the

vote, and suppose that the Republicans in 1952 won also by 50.1 per cent. A complete change in party would have involved a change in Republican voting strength of only two-tenths of a percentage point. Suppose, further, that Eisenhower won in 1956 with 60.1 per cent of the vote. This victory involved no change in party, but an increase in 10 percentage points, or 50 times the shift in vote between 1948 and 1952. Which is the more important election? Where is the turning point? A "presidential history" approach would place the break at 1952, but in terms of voting change it would be 1956.

Many important shifts in voting behavior can be obscured not only by a "presidential history" approach, but also by failing to extend the analysis down to the grass-roots level. For example, Herbert Hoover won the presidential election of 1928 by a landslide margin. But one of the most significant facts of the election is that despite Hoover's victory, Al Smith, for the first time in the twenties, and perhaps for the first time since the Civil War, won for the Democratic party a majority of the votes in the nation's twelve largest cities. The Democrats had been gaining in the metropolitan areas in the early 1920's and by 1928 had won a slight majority. These facts have been brought out only in very recent years. They were hidden by the over-all election returns. But they point to the highly significant fact that the Democratic party was gaining strength in crucial areas of the country prior to the depression, and they open up a whole new understanding of the impact of cultural factors in politics in the twenties.

One could give many examples of the possibilities of going behind the results of a single election to see changes in political behavior, but perhaps a few drawn from Iowa politics would be most appropriate. Consider, for example, political changes since 1950 in the state and specifically in Des Moines. Politics in Des Moines since the early depression has revolved primarily around socio-economic factors, with the lower income groups constituting the center of strength of the Democratic party, and the upper income groups the Republican party. The line of division is very clear geographically; that part of Des Moines west of Harding Road is strongly Republican, and that part to the east is strongly Democratic.

Gubernatorial elections between 1946 and 1956 revealed this split in party majority very clearly, but they also revealed that while the Democratic candidates gained steadily in the county as a whole over that period, they gained most in the lower income areas east of Harding Road. On the

other hand, they lost ground in the higher income areas to the west. For example, between 1946 and 1956, five of the precincts west of Harding Road, of the highest socio-economic level, registered a Democratic loss of 19 percentage points, while six to the east of the lowest socio-economic level, registered a Democratic gain of 23 percentage points. The trend, therefore, has been in opposite directions. This is somewhat unusual in elections, for it is more typical for the trend to be toward or away from a party in the same direction in all precincts, with a variation in the degree of the trend from precinct to precinct. A shift in opposite directions at the same time indicates a sharp and unusual cleavage of political interests.

Much of the same kind of problem can be illuminated by examining the voting behavior of precincts in Cedar Rapids since the depression of 1929. Here there are three major groups of voters. In the southwest part of the city are voters of Bohemian descent who have been traditionally Democratic. To the east and northeast are voters of native American descent, for the most part, of middle and upper socio-economic levels, and traditionally Republican. To the northwest are working class groups largely of native-American extraction; these were strongly Republican up until the depression of 1929, largely because of the cultural issues of nationality, language, and custom which were sharp in Cedar Rapids during that time. But the depression produced a greater concern for economic issues and led to this northwest area of the city voting less and less like the northeast and more and more like the southwest. It has voted Democratic in gubernatorial races since 1944.

In both Des Moines and Cedar Rapids, therefore, one can observe a gradual shifting of political alignments around socio-economic differences. These factors are obscured merely by observing the party strength for the entire county. They can be brought out by examining the returns at the precinct level, which greatly add to our understanding of political behavior.

One type of election which sharply reveals the social and economic structure of a community is the so-called "non-partisan" municipal contest. Stripped of the restraining influence of party discipline, these elections frequently bring out in full force latent intra-community tensions. Contests over the commission form of government, the so-called Des Moines plan, in Iowa in 1908 are excellent cases in point. In Des Moines, Cedar Rapids and Davenport the plan was pushed forward by the business and professional classes of the community on the one hand, and by native American

moral reformers on the other in order to secure political power in municipal affairs and to carry out the various policies that they desired. In each city, however, major elements of the working class and immigrant communities vigorously opposed the plan because they interpreted it as a device to deprive them of political influence and to institute such policies as prohibition which they opposed. In Des Moines workingmen succeeded in defeating the "businessmen's slate" of candidates for the first commission government. In Cedar Rapids, the South-end Bohemian population fought, though unsuccessfully, the commission plan as an attempt by the inhabitants of "piety hill," the northern and eastern sections of the city, to secure control of municipal affairs. And in Davenport the Germans, fearing strict enforcement of anti-liquor laws, succeeded in defeating the proposal to inaugurate a commission government. Precinct and ward voting data in these contests, when related to nativity, religious and income factors, clearly brings out the forces involved in the election and the persistent cultural and socio-economic structure of the entire community.

Much, then, can be gained by using election returns as a device for studying political behavior and changes in that behavior. Perhaps the greatest opportunity this approach can provide in an over-all way is to give us a systematic method of dividing up the units of political history in terms other than presidential administrations. One can construct an index of political change by computing the percentage strength of a particular party in each election, for example, the Republican presidential vote, and plotting it on a graph. Or one can secure an index which reveals change every two years, rather than at four-year intervals, by plotting the party strength in Congress (congressional popular voting statistics are not yet compiled in usable form). Such a graph would provide a rough outline of political change somewhat like a business cycle does for economic change.

This kind of graph reveals several broad trends: (a) from 1874 to 1894 a stalemate between the two parties, with the Democrats winning four of five presidential elections by popular vote, but the Republicans winning three of the five by electoral vote, and with the Democrats winning the House of Representatives eight out of ten times and the Republicans controlling the Senate seven out of ten times; (b) 1894-1910, a period of Republican dominance; (c) a Democratic rise beginning in 1906, reaching a peak in 1914, and declining to a low point in 1920; (d) a Republican rise beginning in 1916, reaching a high plateau from 1920 to 1928, and

declining to a low point in 1936; (e) a Democratic rise, beginning in 1924 in the cities, reaching a high point in 1936, and declining to a low point in 1946. These units of political history, it seems to me, are much more appropriate than are presidential administrations. It is curious that many problems which these units pose, such as the reason for the shift from stalemate between 1874 and 1894 to Republican dominance for sixteen years, have never been answered by historians primarily because the questions have never been asked. The value of developing units of voting behavior for study, then, is primarily one of bringing to our attention questions which have heretofore been obscured.

V

Each of these examples — the importance of cultural issues as opposed to the trust question, the analysis of the role of government as a means to an end, and the possibility of using election data to define problems in history — involves a refocusing of attention from the outward formal aspects of history toward the level of human behavior. Each constitutes an attempt to categorize history in terms of types of human experience, types of human understanding of the world, types of human values, and types of resulting human action. This is a group analysis of society in which one sorts out events in history in terms of social organization and behavior. It offers, it seems to me, a much fuller, a more satisfying, and a more provocative approach to the study and writing of history.

There are several factors, however, which make this approach difficult to undertake at the present time. One is the simple fact that few historical studies and many fewer textbooks are written from this point of view. Most texts are organized in a formal, descriptive style, often from the point of view of "presidential history." On the college level most texts have chapters on presidential administrations, with a few on economic or social history sandwiched in between. There is little attempt to integrate all this around patterns of behavior. High school texts, for the most part, follow the same general pattern.

On the other hand, there is considerable reading material which does have a different slant and which can be used. One which I have already mentioned is Oscar Handlin's *The Uprooted*. A book which provides a good picture of the role of cultural groups in political life is Samuel Lubell's *The Future of American Politics*. Two excellent studies of state political life which touch the grass roots closely are V. O. Key, *American State*

Politics, and Gordon Baker, *Rural Versus Urban Political Power*. An excellent case study of the goals implicit in public action is Stephen Kemp Bailey, *Congress Makes a Law*, a study of the political forces behind the Full Employment Act of 1946. The movements behind the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 are examined in Lee Benson, *Merchants, Farmers and Railroads*. These, of course, are only a few of a number of books which provide a slant toward history more in terms of human behavior.

But there is a far more important roadblock which grass-roots history faces, namely, the difficulty in resisting prevailing public assumptions about what ought to be taught in history courses. A behavioral approach immediately raises questions involving group differences in society, differences between ethnic, religious, or socio-economic groups. And in our society it is not considered legitimate to talk about such differences; instead we are expected to paint a picture of a unified, all-community spirit to support a kind of community patriotism and loyalty. Every community resists introspection into its own social, economic, and political structure, and equally resists history which examines the same questions.

For example, would teachers in Carroll, Allamakee, Winnishiek, or Jones counties, in Davenport, Cedar Rapids, or Des Moines feel free to delve into the whole range of cultural and economic differences which have long existed there and which throughout the years have determined the course of politics? How freely does one in Davenport discuss in the classroom the full implications of cultural conflict represented by the different names "Cork Hill" and "Sauerkraut Hill" which used to describe the Irish and German areas, east and west of Brady Street? How freely in Des Moines does one talk about the political differences between Grand Avenue and the downtown area, especially the "bottoms" at the junction of the Des Moines and the Raccoon rivers, and the way in which urban reform for over sixty years has pitted upper-class business and professional people against lower-class laboring groups? How freely can one in Carroll County discuss the religious and cultural differences between the Anglo-Saxon, Protestant eastern tier of townships and the remaining German Catholic townships? Or how freely in almost any small town can one discuss the "pecking order" among the churches, or the community hierarchy of power and control, in the face of the ideology that the community is one big happy family? Two sociologists, Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, have done just that in a study called *Small Town in Mass Society*. Their approach would be use-

ful in examining any Iowa small town, past or present, but it brings to light factors in social structure and human behavior which community boosters usually do not appreciate.

And yet the attempt to skip quickly over such fundamental human features of history only does the study of history a disservice, and in my view is one reason why history frequently repels rather than attracts students. Most students know first hand the realities of social and community life, enough to know what is legitimate to talk about and what is not. To obscure these realities in history and social studies courses is to earn a reputation for talking about the unimportant and to court a pose of hypocrisy in the eyes of students. The more we refuse to get down to the human level of history at the grass roots, the more history will be looked upon as dealing only with the formal and the outward and will be shunned. The more we explore the realities of human life, on the other hand, the more students will look upon history as a significant study worth their time and effort.

GOVERNOR RALPH P. LOWE AND STATE AID TO RAILROADS: IOWA POLITICS IN 1859

*By Leonard F. Ralston**

As the state elections approached in 1859, Iowa Republicans controlled the state legislature, the governorship, and the delegation to Congress. Although the party so dominated the state, the leaders of Iowa Republicanism were not complacent. The party was in its infancy, and if party leaders hoped to place Iowa among the list of Republican states in 1860, they would somehow have to strengthen the party. In the elections of 1857, Republican Governor Ralph P. Lowe had carried the state by only a 2,000 vote majority, and the Democratic party had shown signs of revival as familiar Republican issues lost their luster.

Party leaders anticipated a strong Democratic counterattack in 1859, as Buchanan and Douglas partisans united in support of former Senator Augustus Caesar Dodge for governor. Dodge would be a difficult candidate to defeat.

Governor Lowe would have been pleased to serve another term as governor and normally could have expected renomination and re-election, in conformance with the state's two-term tradition. But as the day of the Republican State Convention approached, a movement to dump Governor Lowe gained force. A leader among pre-convention favorites to replace Lowe was an Iowa City merchant and miller, Samuel J. Kirkwood. Kirkwood was one of the founders of the Republican party in Iowa, and he had the backing of Senator James W. Grimes, Lowe's predecessor as governor and the party's most consistent vote-getter. Other Republican leaders were sympathetic to Kirkwood's candidacy, and the only real obstacle to his nomination was the well-known desire of Lowe to run again. To avoid a convention fight and to preserve party harmony, Republican State Chairman John A. Kasson persuaded Lowe to step aside. At the convention, a friend of Lowe's rose at the very beginning of the proceedings to make a statement for the governor.

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Understanding that great diversity of sentiment exists in your body, as it relates to the subject of your next candidate for the office of Governor, and believing myself that there is danger of compromising the harmony of the party . . . I beg to withdraw my name as a candidate for renomination for the Chief Executive of the State.

With a sigh of relief, the convention nominated Kirkwood by acclamation. The same convention then nominated Lowe for a post on the State Supreme Court, the compensation suggested by Kasson as a reward for Lowe's concession to party welfare.¹

Why did the party want to drop Lowe, and why did he agree to being dropped? The chief explanation — indeed the only explanation — given by those who have studied the election is the weakness of Lowe. Quoting varied sources, they explained that Lowe was a good man, too good to be strong. "The lowering clouds in the political sky made the Republicans feel that they must have at the helm a man . . . more capable of inspiring the loyalty and devotion of all classes of citizens." Prominent Republicans felt that Lowe was soft and weak, without energy and deficient as a leader.²

In all the criticism of Lowe as a candidate, no one gave any examples of his weaknesses. However, an examination of Lowe's record uncovered his participation in a campaign to provide state aid for the railroads of the state. As a result of his railroad activities, Lowe became a liability to the Republican cause.

The attitude of Iowans toward state aid to internal improvements was shaped by the experiences of fellow Midwesterners whose unfortunate ventures into state support of canal building had left many wiser souls. As a result, the state of Iowa prohibited the use of state credit for the building of internal improvements from the beginning of its existence as a state. Incorporated in the Constitution of 1846, the restriction continued in the Constitution of 1857 in equally effective terms: "The credit of the State shall not, in any manner, be given or loaned to, or in aid of, any individual, association or corporation; and the State shall never assume, or become re-

¹ Dan Elbert Clark, *Samuel Jordan Kirkwood* (Iowa City, 1917), 126; Edward Younger, "The Rise of John A. Kasson in Iowa Politics, 1857-1859," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 50:307 (October, 1952).

² Clark, *Kirkwood*, 125; Younger, "Rise of John A. Kasson in Iowa Politics," 305-306; Morton M. Rosenberg, "The Election of 1859 in Iowa," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 57:11 (January, 1959).

sponsible for, the debts or liabilities of any individual, association or corporation, unless incurred in time of war for the benefit of the State." The aggregate state debt for "casual deficits, or failures in revenue, or to meet expenses not otherwise provided for" was limited to \$250,000, but an additional proviso allowed the state to contract a greater deficit for a specific purpose, if approved by a majority of the voters. This clause was devised to cover the large expenditures expected in constructing a new capitol building.³

The attitude of the Republican party was circumspect. Party pronouncements on railroads were consistently friendly, but not too friendly, for party leaders felt that popular enthusiasm for railroads was too uncertain and shifting a foundation on which to build a program. Should the zeal with which Iowans pursued railroads shift to criticism, the effect on the party would be disastrous.⁴

In spite of these proscriptions, Governor Lowe supported a strong move for state aid in the spring of 1858, just six months after the proclamation of the new constitution. The depressed conditions following the panic of 1857 triggered the attempt. All of the railroads of the state were slowed by the financial exigencies of the times, but the Dubuque & Pacific Railroad was particularly hard hit, and Platt Smith of that company was the chief architect of the aid scheme which unfolded during 1858 and 1859.

Smith opened his campaign in April, 1858, when he wrote to several persons testing opinion on state aid for railroads. First he wrote to Senator Grimes, an early supporter of the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad. Smith asked him what he thought of the propriety of the state aiding the four land-grant railroads with a million or a million and a quarter dollars for each road. The loans would be secured by the land-grant lands and the railroad companies would pay the interest on the state's bonds. Smith supported the measure not only as an aid to railroads, but also as an "Emigration movement." While no answer from Grimes is known, his negative attitude became evident at a later date.⁵

Three days later Smith wrote to Iowa Central Air Line Railroad sup-

³ *Constitution of Iowa*, Art. 7, Sec's. 1, 2, 5.

⁴ David S. Sparks, "Iowa Republicans and the Railroads, 1856-1860," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 53:286 (July, 1955).

⁵ Platt Smith to James W. Grimes, Apr. 6, 1858 (Illinois Central Archives, Newberry Library, Chicago, hereafter referred to as IC), 8D5.1.

porters John E. Goodenow of Maquoketa and Norman W. Isbell and Aylett R. Cotton of Clinton in an attempt to gain the support of that section of the state. Smith airily dismissed the \$250,000 debt limit and said the extraordinary debt proviso opened the way for state aid to railroads. He thought state aid was the only hope the railroads had. "No company or individual in the Western Country has any credit at the present time on which money can be raised in the East. Everything in that respect is flat." Repeating a theme he had used in the letter to Grimes, he said he was positive state aid could be carried by a popular vote in the country along the line of the Dubuque & Pacific. As an additional persuasion to the Clinton men, he claimed that the bonds could serve as a basis for banking institutions.⁶

Also in April, Smith wrote to the president of the Burlington & Missouri, William F. Coolbaugh, to gain his support. This time Smith stressed the legal aspects of the question and assured Coolbaugh that state aid was constitutional. He insisted that the prohibition against state debt was intended to curb the legislature, not the people themselves.⁷

Having sampled opinion and gained some encouragement, Smith turned to his major target, Governor Lowe. If judged by his correspondence and his messages to the legislature, Lowe was as ardent an advocate of railroads as ever occupied the executive chair of Iowa. In his first communication to the governor, Smith tried to dispose of constitutional objections, using the same defense as before. "The people are always jealous of their rights, they limit the powers of government, [but] they are not jealous of themselves."

Smith's main reason for writing the governor was the request he then made. He wanted Lowe to call a special session of the legislature to consider state aid and to order a proposal submitted to the voters in October. Smith asked the governor's sentiments on the subject solicitously, for he admitted "it would be a useless expense to call the legislature to submit a bill which your excellency would be compelled to defeat by veto."⁸

Then Smith immediately set about persuading the governor to act. To John Thompson of Fayette County, on the line of the proposed McGregor

⁶ Smith to Goodenow, Isbell, and Cotton, Apr. 9, 1858, *ibid.*, 8D5.1.

⁷ Smith to Coolbaugh, Apr. 21, 1858, *ibid.*, 8D5.1.

⁸ Smith to Lowe, June 7, 1858, *ibid.*, 8D5.1.

Railroad, and to Henry Farnam of the Mississippi & Missouri Railroad he sent petitions asking Lowe to convene the legislature to consider state aid. Smith asked the other railroad men to circulate the petitions along the lines of their roads. Haste was important, said Smith, since the General Assembly had to be called before July 1 in order to bring the project before the voters by October.⁹

In a 2,000-word epistle dated June 22, Governor Lowe both blasted and bolstered Smith's hopes for aid from the state. Lowe regretfully explained that it would be virtually impossible to bring the measure before the people at the general election in October, 1858. In order to submit the proposal in constitutional form, the legislature had to be convened, and the law had to be passed, published, and distributed all over the state, all within twenty days. Since the question could not be given to the people until 1859, Lowe did not feel there was any need to call a special session until he had "some reasonable grounds to believe that such a law, if proposed by the Legislature, would be sanctioned by the people." Politician Lowe was looking forward to coming elections and did not propose to call the legislature to consider something that might be defeated and pull him down with it.

But to demonstrate his own hope for the project, Lowe went ahead to outline a scheme for state aid which he was sure would be constitutional. Issuing bonds, bearing 4 or 6 per cent interest, for the necessary funds, the state would purchase "say ten millions worth" of railroad iron (track, chairs, and spikes), to be sold to the railroads "of state importance, or of general public interest." The railroads would pay the state with railroad bonds bearing at least one per cent greater interest than the state bonds to pay the costs of the state issue. Only after the companies had prepared the roadbed by grading, ballasting, and tying the right of way could they become eligible to exchange railroad bonds for the iron.

Lowe listed several advantages in defense of his idea. First, the state would gain the greatest return for its investment. He feared that money loaned for general construction purposes would be expended with little effect (perhaps squandered) on grading, building bridges, paying salaries and fat profits, without much actual track resulting from the spending of a great deal of money.

Second, the greatest possible mileage would be gained in this way, since it would foster competition among the railroads for state aid.

⁹ Smith to Thompson and to Farnam, June 10, 1858, *ibid.*, 8D5.1.

Third, greater economy would result, especially since the program would be under state supervision at all times.

Fourth, railroad bonds would be sold at such a discount that it would take \$13,000,000 in railroad securities to achieve the same results which \$10,000,000 in state bonds could secure.

Fifth, since any deserving road could share, it would eliminate petty jealousies among the roads about who should benefit from the state aid and enlist support from the people of all sections, not just the people along the land-grant routes.

The governor concluded his list by saying that this plan would also insure the building of the roads as the country required them, not ahead of local demands. If a region did not possess enough resources to construct the roadbed, then a railroad probably should not be built at all.

Returning to politics, Lowe proposed a method of implementing his plan. All the railroads of the state should agree on this scheme or a similar one, then secure the approval of "leading men and journals of both political parties, and through them have the whole subject brought before the people of the State." Then, if public opinion approved, a special session could be called with a chance of legislative consent, but not before. The ground had to be carefully prepared, the seeds planted, and the crop given some time to grow before the railroads could reap any harvest of state aid.

Lowe disapproved of Smith's plan for giving monetary aid to the land-grant railroads because he did not think "that the conflicting interest[s] of the state can be harmonized on that basis." He gave Smith a chance to modify his ideas, by asking the railroader to be more specific.¹⁰

Lowe's plan was not what Smith really wanted, but at this point in the negotiations, the Dubuque man was all agreement. "We all highly approve of the suggestions it contains, and think them very practical. With our present views we have no improvements or alterations to suggest." He thought that between that time and the meeting of the next legislature, the friends of the railroads should meet in convention and agree on some mode of action.¹¹

On August 17 Lowe again wrote Smith and suggested that the convention be held "at some central point . . . soon after the election." Appar-

¹⁰ Lowe to Smith, June 22, 1858 (copy), *ibid.*, 8D5.1.

¹¹ Smith to Lowe, July 10, 1858, Governors' Correspondence (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines, hereafter cited as G II), File 721.

ently Lowe felt it unwise to make any move before elections, and Smith agreed. Smith had shown Lowe's letter around and reported a good deal of support building. Most of the directors of the Iowa Central Air Line were in favor, he said, although some had doubts about the constitutionality of the plan. He also noted that several leading citizens had expressed approval of the idea.

Duncombe of Fort Dodge, Editor of the Fort Dodge Sentinel, a strong democrat and possessed of considerable influence in that region of country, will advocate that policy strongly. Jones, Wilson, Bonson, Stewart, Samuels, Booth and nearly all the leading democrats here [Dubuque] will go for it strongly. As to republicans, there will be no difficulty with them. In fact, as far as I can learn, there will be very little opposition to a measure of that kind in this part of the state.¹²

In a letter of September 3 Smith's tone began to change. He weakly agreed that the plan to purchase and deliver iron to the roads was a good one, "a very prudent one, a very safe one so far as the direct security of the State is concerned—it also has the merit of discouraging improper roads." He adopted Lowe's proposal for an approach to public opinion, and added in a conspiratorial manner: "We should meet soon after the October elections and lay down a plan of operation."

And then came the "but." While he had heard no fault with Lowe's idea, he had some doubts on reflection. Smith's main concern was a fear that the scheme would bring no money into the state. Under Lowe's plan, all expenditures would be outside the state, whereas the direct aid that Smith wanted would be expended within the state and would aid in dispelling the depressed conditions in Iowa. "The expenditure of that sum [\$10,000,000] would cause money to flow in all the channels of commerce which are now dried up, and will remain so until they receive a new impetus from some source which is adequate to put the wheels of commerce in motion again." He also expected opposition to develop among bankers and prospective bankers, brokers, merchants, and manufacturers, all of

¹² Smith to Lowe, Aug. 30, 1858, *ibid.*, File 626. Smith probably referred to John F. Duncombe, Fort Dodge Democrat, and George W. Jones, either David S. or Thomas W. Wilson, Richard Bonson, William S. Stewart, Ben M. Samuels, and Caleb H. Booth, all Dubuque Democrats who represented that district in Congress or the state legislature.

whom would desire to acquire these bonds. Where Smith expected them to find the money to buy the bonds he did not say.

After expressing these misgivings, Smith hastened to assure the governor that he was not discarding Lowe's idea or changing his own belief in it, but just "suggest[ing] the reflections which have passed through my mind on the subject, that you may consider the matter." However, it was clear that what Smith really wanted was the use of the state's credit. He wanted the state to provide funds for construction, secured by first mortgage railroad bonds, with no strings attached. He needed money to support the whole complex of railroad construction more than a supply of iron, as important as that may have been. He was willing to accept Lowe's plan, if that was all the aid he could find, but clearly he wanted more.¹³

The convention of "the friends of the railroad" which Smith and Lowe had discussed was called for December, 1858, in Iowa City. Since this was on the route of the Mississippi & Missouri, its leaders took notice of the movement. Grenville M. Dodge of Council Bluffs and the M. & M. reported the growth of interest in state aid in western Iowa, but was not sure himself which way to jump. He declined to take any active part in the matter, but said friends of the M. & M. were inside the movement and "our interests in the matter will be guarded."¹⁴

At the time of the meeting in Iowa City, Peter A. Dey of Iowa City and the M. & M. reported that it was primarily for the benefit of the Dubuque & Pacific and the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines & Minnesota Railroad (a road following the Des Moines River from Keokuk to Des Moines), "adding only enough of something else to carry the Bill and the popular vote." The M. & M. was already the target of many critics because of its slow progress and was "at present committed against State aid and shall be unless we can gain something by it." A basis for this objection showed in a later letter of Farnam's, when he wrote "that several Roads will be brought up for aid that are not wanted & the aid in that case will do us more hurt than good. At any rate I think it best to let others move in the matter first." For the M. & M. it was a question of economics, not constitutionality or the progress of the state's prosperity.¹⁵

¹³ Smith to Lowe, Sept. 3, 1858, *ibid.*, File 721.

¹⁴ Dodge to Price, Nov. 2, 1858, Grenville M. Dodge Papers (State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines, hereafter cited as GMD), Vol. 335.

¹⁵ Dey to Dodge, Dec. 6, 1858; Farnam to Dodge, Jan. 2, 1860, *ibid.*, Vol. 150.

In early December, the Iowa City meeting voted "in favor of a judicious system of State aid to such Railroads as are of State importance to an amount not exceeding eight millions of dollars," and asked the governor to call a special session of the legislature to consider the proposition. Samuel J. Kirkwood attended this convention and wrote the minority report which objected strongly to state aid on constitutional grounds. A Burlington newspaper claimed that the convention had been "rigged," with members sent by the D. & P. at \$25 a head, and this, if true, was an even firmer ground for objection by the politically astute Kirkwood.¹⁶

This was far from the expression of unanimity desired by Lowe. As a result of this and other evidences of opposition, his ardor for state aid began to fade. James Harlan, Senator from Iowa and a power in the state's Republican organization, had written Lowe in November advising caution. He had raised several questions which Lowe, as an ambitious politician, had to give serious consideration. Harlan asked: would it not "almost certainly defeat the Republican ticket next summer" if Lowe called an extra session and it authorized the issue of bonds for state aid?

Independent of the cry of extravagance, which Demagogues would be certain to raise, would it not give our opponents the voters along the lines of these roads, sufficient to swamp our small majority in the State at large, and, also, enable them to so distribute them as to carry the Senate and the House? And if so, would all the good growing out of the *more rapid* completion of these public works, compensate for the loss of the control of the State Government, and our position in the ranks of *Republican States* in 1860, when our vote, as a state, may elect a President of the United States? These are considerations that doubtless have been, or will be maturely considered by you before your influence will have been cast for or against the proposition.

Harlan entered no threats against Lowe, but simply pointed out that the Republican party in Iowa opposed the granting of state aid to railroads, for fear that it would damage the party in the coming elections by rebounding to the credit of the opposition. Harlan had a particular interest in the issue, for the legislature elected in the fall of 1859 would either give or deny Harlan the second term in the Senate that he wanted.¹⁷

¹⁶ Sparks, "Iowa Republicans and the Railroads," 273; Burlington *Weekly Hawkeye*, Dec. 14, 1858.

¹⁷ Harlan to Lowe, Nov. 11, 1858, G II, File 637.

Possibly Lowe expressed some doubts to Smith about pushing the matter too vigorously, for shortly thereafter Smith's partner answered a Lowe letter received when Smith was ill and said that Smith felt it would be unwise to postpone the December meeting. Smith feared postponement would dampen the ardor of state aid advocates.¹⁸

Another Lowe letter apparently suggested that the newspapers were either too faint-hearted or too actively opposed to state aid for the project to succeed, for Smith assured Lowe that most of the papers in the Dubuque area heartily favored the plan or could be easily converted to more open support. Lowe evidently expressed some doubt about Smith's ideas for state aid, for Smith answered: "Speaking of my plan you seem to think that I have some definite scheme that I would like to have carried out." He assured the governor that any plan he had mentioned was intended only as a suggestion, not as a definite stand. Smith wanted state aid in some form, any form that would bear results. At a point when the governor appeared to be contracting a severe case of "cold feet," Smith reassured Lowe of the wisdom of the governor's plan.¹⁹

A decisive and apparently final puncture of the state aid balloon inflated by Smith and Lowe came in early 1859. John Bertram, a Boston businessman, reported that Iowa bonds with no taint of unconstitutionality would have difficulty finding a market and that bonds of questionable legality would not sell at all. Gratuitously, Bertram gave his opinion that Lowe's plan would be abused, for speculators would take advantage of the plan to erect roads which would not even pay operating expenses.²⁰

This was the last reference to state aid in any of the governor's correspondence. Nor was anything further done, at this time or later. No extra session was called, and Lowe made no mention of the question in any of his subsequent messages or proclamations.

Reasons for Lowe's retreat are not hard to see. The beginning lay in Harlan's communication in November. This was a semi-official notification of the objections of party leaders and led to Lowe's steady withdrawal from an exposed position. The strong minority protest led by Kirkwood at the Iowa City meeting in December further weakened Lowe's desire.

¹⁸ McKinley to Lowe, Nov. 17, 1858, IC, 8D5.1.

¹⁹ Smith to Lowe, Nov. 24, 1858, G II, File 721.

²⁰ Bertram to Lowe, Mar. 15, 1859, *ibid.*, File 721.

However, his reconsideration came too late, and his political progress was stopped.

The election of 1859 was much too important to the Republicans for them to continue with Lowe. Republican leaders wanted a strong candidate with no frailties to weaken him in a race against a vigorous Democratic counterattack. Because of his devotion to state aid, some came to regard Lowe as a Jonah. Grimes wrote to contender Kirkwood: "no man with a thimble full of brains[,] if he desired the success of our party," would have the Republicans endorse any program for state aid to railroads. Grimes assured Kirkwood that the official stand of the party would be neither for nor against state aid. He said Lowe would have to be dropped in the interests of party welfare. "The democrats are all for Lowe, of course. They hope his nomination & then they will publish some of his foolish letters in favor of state aid written by him last Autumn. . . . Outside of Lee, Polk & Dubuque counties I do not know anybody in favor of his nomination in our party."²¹

Clearly the Republicans preferred to keep away from the politically dangerous issue of state aid to railroads. Public opinion was already turning against railroads in some areas of the state, and the Republicans shied away from being identified too closely with the railroads. Unfortunately for Lowe, most of the support for his state aid plan came from Dubuque, a Democratic stronghold. Harlan saw this and feared that a successful plan for state support of railroads would aid the Democrats. Grimes, on the other hand, foresaw Democratic capitalization on Lowe's indiscreet support of state aid. Lowe was damned in either event. If the state aid plan had carried, the Democrats would have received the credit. After it had failed, Grimes thought the attempt would weaken the Republicans if they supported Lowe.

The pressure placed on the Republicans by the vigorous Democratic resurgence in 1859 forced party leaders to put a strong candidate in the field for governor. That Lowe did not fit the picture of a strong leader was in part the result of his support for state aid to the railroads of Iowa. State aid was never popular in Iowa, and the Republicans could not support such a scheme because they feared the possible consequences politically. Nor

²¹ Grimes to Kirkwood, May 29, 1859, in "Letters of James W. Grimes," *Annals of Iowa* (3 ser.), 22:499-500 (October, 1940).

could they afford to retain a candidate who had committed himself on this dangerous issue. This episode of 1858-1859 was the only burgeoning of state aid sentiment to attain any importance and it proved the danger of using state credit, if not to the finances of the state, at least to the politician who supported it. With the coming of the Civil War, more serious matters concerned the lawmakers. After the war, the opening of other sources of credit made state aid less important. While some railroads still found private sources of capital inadequate, it was made clear by this incident that if the railroads were to receive public aid, it would have to come from local governments and not the state.

JAMES S. CLARKSON VERSUS BENJAMIN HARRISON, 1891-1893: A POLITICAL SAGA

By Stanley P. Hirshson*

When Benjamin Harrison defeated Grover Cleveland for the presidency in 1888, some prominent Republicans believed that the triumph would usher in a golden age for their party. They were convinced that under Harrison's dynamic leadership Republicanism would reign supreme at least for the remainder of the nineteenth century. By 1900 the Democracy's once powerful voice in national affairs would be but a meaningless whisper.¹

It did not take long for Republican disillusionment to set in. Almost immediately after Harrison's inaugural, men like James S. Clarkson, the Republican national committeeman from Iowa and owner of the *Des Moines Iowa State Register*, saw that the new chief executive was incapable of fulfilling their expectations. As time went by he and others became increasingly dissatisfied with the President.

By 1891 the Harrison administration had done many things which irked Clarkson. Despite the valuable work he had performed during the campaign of 1888, the Iowan had not been given a post in the new President's Cabinet. Instead, he had been appointed First Assistant Postmaster General. Although the chief executive was not entirely to blame for this situation, Clarkson became obsessed with the notion that Harrison had cheated him.² Moreover, Clarkson, a strong and relentless advocate of the Force Bill to regulate Congressional elections in the South, was piqued by the President's failure in 1891 fully to support that measure. An outspoken defender of the Southern Negro, Clarkson thereafter periodically urged the administra-

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¹ For this idea, see the remarks of James S. Clarkson in the *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 5, 1893; of Chauncey Depew in the *New York Tribune*, Nov. 9, 1888; and of Benjamin Harrison in the *New York Herald*, Dec. 23, 1888.

² *New York Sun*, Apr. 27, 1891. On Clarkson's activities as vice-chairman of the Republican national committee in 1888, see Harry J. Sievers, *Benjamin Harrison, Hoosier Statesman* (New York, 1959), 366-7, 415. For the details of Clarkson's appointment as First Assistant Postmaster General, consult Leland L. Sage, *William Boyd Allison, A Study in Practical Politics* (Iowa City, 1956), 236-9.

tion to take a strong public stand in favor of equal rights for the freedmen, but his pleas were futile. The President did nothing.³ So incensed was Clarkson by 1891 that he frequently denounced the administration, often using the strongest possible language.⁴

Nor was Clarkson the only Republican enemy Harrison made. Early in his term the President completely alienated such party leaders as Matthew S. Quay, the political dictator of Pennsylvania, and Thomas C. Platt, the Republican czar of New York. To Platt, disappointed because he had not been appointed Secretary of the Treasury, Harrison was the "White House iceberg" who had disregarded the wishes of the men who had elected him. Similarly, Quay, deprived of the patronage by the administration, found little to like in the President.⁵

By the third year of the Harrison administration the bosses' hatred of Harrison was an open secret. When, in July, 1891, Clarkson was elected chairman of the Republican national committee, the *New York World* considered the selection a bad omen for the chief executive. "It is a distinct anti-Harrison victory," the paper observed. "Exercising great influence," Clarkson would undoubtedly "forward any move calculated to defeat the President's ambition for a second term."⁶

By early 1892, Clarkson, Platt, and Quay were convinced that something drastic must be done if their party was to capture the presidency that year. At a secret meeting in New York these men, along with former Governor Russell A. Alger of Michigan and Samuel Fessenden, the party leader in Connecticut, agreed that Harrison must go and vowed to work for the nomination of Secretary of State James G. Blaine of Maine.⁷

In line with the scheme decided upon, Clarkson implored Blaine to seek

³ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Apr. 29, 1890; Portland *Oregonian*, Aug. 1, 1890; James S. Clarkson to Elijah W. Halford, May 13, 1892, *Benjamin Harrison Papers* (Library of Congress), Vol. 140; Clarkson to W. B. Allison, Apr. 21, 1890, *William Boyd Allison Papers* (Iowa State Dept. of History and Archives, Des Moines), Box 273. For the President's attitude on the race problem, see Harrison to H. H. Mitchell, May 21, 1892, *Harrison Papers*, Vol. 142.

⁴ *New York Sun*, Apr. 27, 1891.

⁵ Louis J. Lang (ed.), *The Autobiography of Thomas C. Platt* (New York, 1910), 206-215; Philadelphia Press, July 31, 1891.

⁶ *New York World*, July 30, 1891; George Harmon Knoles, *The Presidential Campaign and Election of 1892* (Stanford University, Calif., 1942), 36.

⁷ Lang (ed.), *Autobiography of Thomas C. Platt*, 246, 488-9. Clarkson's long devotion to Blaine is described in Leland L. Sage, "The Clarksons of Indiana and Iowa," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 50:440 (December, 1954).

the nomination. Blaine's policies as head of the State Department had made the country prosperous, the Iowan argued. Of great personal magnetism, the man from Maine was the only Republican who could carry the country in November.⁸

Unmoved, Blaine in a public letter released early in February took himself out of the presidential race. Insisting that he was sick and tired of public service, he said that he desired to spend his remaining days in the comfort and ease of private life.⁹

A short while later Clarkson, in an interview, admitted that, with Blaine out of the running, the Republican presidential nomination would probably go to Harrison. "Blaine could be nominated and could be elected beyond all doubt, if he would take it, and he is our only certain winner," the national committee chairman asserted. Still, Harrison had "added to the glory of the country and the party both." He had "grown steadily in public estimation and in the last year rapidly in party estimation. It is not unlikely, and indeed is probable, that he may be chosen again."¹⁰

Until a few weeks before the Republican National Convention of June, 1892, Clarkson, living up to the letter if not the spirit of the chairmanship of the national committee, observed a policy of strict neutrality in the presidential race. In the middle of May when asked by the *New York World* to designate his own favorite candidate, Clarkson declined to comment.¹¹

But Clarkson's deep-seated preference for Blaine proved too strong to stifle. At his instigation a Detroit conference of anti-Harrison men was held late in May. Attending the gathering were such important Republicans as Alger; J. Sloat Fassett of New York, one of Platt's most trusted advisers and former secretary of the national committee; Senator John M. Thurston of Nebraska; and John Mercer Langston, the Negro leader of Virginia. Along with Quay, Platt, and Senator J. Donald Cameron of Pennsylvania, these men, all of whom had been ignored by the adminis-

⁸ Clarkson to James G. Blaine, Jan. 15, 1892, in Mary Abigail Dodge, *Biography of James G. Blaine* (Norwick, 1895), 698-9.

⁹ Blaine to Clarkson, Feb. 6, 1892, in *New York World*, Feb. 8, 1892; Donald M. Dozer, "Benjamin Harrison and the Presidential Campaign of 1892," *American Historical Review*, 54:56 (October, 1948).

¹⁰ *New York Times*, Mar. 16, 1892.

¹¹ *New York World*, May 18, 1892.

tration in patronage matters, decided to disregard Blaine's February letter and to push forward the Plumed Knight's candidacy.¹²

Spurred on by the strong pro-Blaine stand the members of the Detroit conference had taken, Clarkson after the meeting did what no self-respecting national committee chairman was supposed to do: he publicly named names and played favorites. Abandoning the unwritten principle of neutrality, he announced to the world that he was a Blaine man. "Blaine is in the American rather than in the Republican heart today. . . ," he insisted. Every schoolboy revered the Secretary of State. "Every American at home or abroad is proud of him." According to Clarkson, the buttons on millions of American vests were ripped off by the pressure of chests swelled with pride at the mere mention of Blaine's name. Should the man from Maine die tomorrow, "every newspaper in the land, irrespective of party, would say it was a pity he had never been President." Unbeatable, Blaine was "far stronger than his party."¹³

Hammering away at the Blaine-for-President theme, Clarkson predicted a few days later that his favorite would be nominated. Six-sevenths of the Republicans of the country, he conservatively estimated, favored Blaine. The young people of the party were for him almost to a man. Blaine's name was

. . . the watchword — the synonym of Republicanism. The popular demand for his nomination is something the like of which I have never witnessed, nor do I think has its parallel been seen since the foundation of American institutions. Wherever I travel I am asked, yes, commanded by Republicans, young and old, even by their wives and their sweethearts, to cast my vote in the convention for the statesman from Maine, and to use what influence I have to make him our candidate.

Vowing to obey this public clamor, Clarkson predicted that Blaine would be selected by acclamation on the first ballot.¹⁴

After much pressure by the spoilsmen, Blaine finally yielded. Flattered beyond belief by Platt, Clarkson, and Quay, "the three most skillful wire-pullers in the Republican party," he finally broke with Harrison three days before the Republican convention met. He resigned his post as Secretary

¹² *Ibid.*, May 20, 23, 1892; *New York Times*, May 24, 1892.

¹³ *New York World*, May 26, 1892.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 4, 1892.

of State and openly avowed that he was a candidate for the nation's highest office.¹⁵

Blaine's move proved to be far too little and far too late. In firm control of the party machinery, the President easily won renomination at the Minneapolis convention of June, 1892. Stampeding the gathering, he was chosen on the first ballot.¹⁶

To Clarkson the defeat of Blaine was a stunning blow. While still on the floor of the convention hall, he told a close friend that the Blaine forces had nothing to work with "but a rope of sand; we did not have a candidate until two days before the convention met." Well did Clarkson realize that this latest debacle signified the end not only of Blaine's political fortunes but also of his own career as a political manager. "For five successive conventions I have fought for Blaine," he recollected. "Do you realize what it means to me to see the end—and without success?"¹⁷ Thus was Clarkson's twenty-year exercise in political futility concluded.

Failing completely as a president maker, Clarkson in 1892 had not even been able to hold his own delegation in line. Such important Iowans as Senators William B. Allison and James F. Wilson rallied to Harrison at the Minneapolis gathering. Only five Iowa votes were cast for Blaine, while the President received twenty.¹⁸

Predicting defeat in November for Harrison, the frigid Presbyterian deacon whose "low temperature of action towards the party workers" had alienated hundreds of thousands of loyal Republicans, Clarkson, Platt, Quay, and their cohorts bundled themselves "in overcoats and earmuffs" and left Minneapolis for home. Just the thought of Harrison, Platt later recalled, "caused a chattering of the teeth among the warm-blooded Republicans of the East."¹⁹

Not all party members agreed. To Senator William E. Chandler of New Hampshire, Clarkson had acted like a fool. Instead of trying to run a

¹⁵ Matthew Josephson, *The Politicos, 1865-1896* (New York, 1938), 498-9; Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland, A Study in Courage* (New York, 1933), 488; June D. Holmquist, "Convention City: The Republicans in Minneapolis," *Minnesota History*, 35:73 (June, 1956).

¹⁶ Josephson, *Politicos*, 500.

¹⁷ Arthur W. Dunn, *From Harrison to Harding* (2 vols., New York, 1922), 1:93-4.

¹⁸ Sage, *Allison*, 253; Thomas R. Ross, *Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver, A Study in Political Integrity and Independence* (Iowa City, 1958), 101.

¹⁹ Lang (ed.), *Autobiography of Thomas C. Platt*, 215, 246-7.

campaign, the Iowan had attempted to make a President. As a result, Clarkson had split and greatly weakened his own party.²⁰ Joining in, former Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas, ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, and Whitelaw Reid of the New York *Tribune*, the 1892 vice-presidential nominee, all insisted that Clarkson, Platt, and Quay — the most “unscrupulous elements” in the party — had used Blaine’s name “not because they loved it or cared to protect it, but merely because it was the handiest club for wreaking their revenge on Harrison.”²¹

Looking back at the work of the convention ten days after its close, Clarkson defended his course. “Blaine really had the hearts of over three-fourths of the delegates,” he opined. If the Plumed Knight had not waited so long to resign, he would easily have beaten Harrison. Blaine had not even bothered to consult his supporters before he had acted. Clarkson had learned of Blaine’s intention to leave the Cabinet only the night before the public had.

Clarkson could find nothing good to say about Harrison. It was the President, not the bosses, who had resorted to unfair tactics at Minneapolis. As in 1888, Harrison had bartered important government posts for convention delegates. “I do not see where all the Cabinet offices that were promised at this Convention are to be found without a very substantial enlargement of the Cabinet,” Clarkson stated. At least four posts in the chief executive’s inner circle had been pledged by the President, and the “Mission to St. Petersburg, to my certain knowledge, was promised to three different men.”²²

Having rebelled against his master, Clarkson was now forced to pay the penalty. Despite his protests that he had served his party well in the past and would continue to do so in the future, he was, upon orders from the President, removed from the chairmanship of the Republican national committee late in June, 1892. Thus did Harrison make it clear that his political enemies would not guide his campaign for re-election.²³

Publicly reviewing the situation, Clarkson once more denounced Harri-

²⁰ New York *World*, July 1, 1892.

²¹ Philadelphia *Press*, Apr. 16, 1893; Charles R. Williams (ed.), *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (5 vols., Columbus, Ohio, 1922-1926), 5:90; Joseph B. Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life* (2 vols., Cincinnati, 1916), 1:423.

²² Philadelphia *Press*, June 13, 1892.

²³ New York *Times*, June 28, 1892.

son. The President had replaced him solely for spite. Still, Clarkson revealed, he would do all in his power to re-elect Harrison. "Party duty" required that he support the ticket. "Loyalty is due to party and not to men."²⁴

Privately, Clarkson just as emphatically emphasized his devotion to Republicanism and to the ticket. "Nobody's personal disappointments should weigh against party interests," he told John E. Bruce of the *New York Age*. "I bear no scars and wounds and have suffered no disappointments; and even if I had they should not weigh against anything of party concern or welfare. All that is left now for any good Republican to do is to turn in and help the ticket to win, and there can be no further rivalry during this campaign than to vie in the endeavor to do the most toward success."²⁵

But Harrison wanted little aid from men like Clarkson, Quay, and Platt. Unwilling to forgive those who had attempted to kill him politically, the President refused to assign to them tasks of importance during the campaign of 1892. He was certain that he could successfully direct his own canvass.²⁶

The balloting in November shattered Harrison's dream. He went down to a stunning defeat, winning only 145 electoral votes to 277 for Grover Cleveland, his Democratic opponent.²⁷ Clearly, the organizational skill of the three most prominent Republican wirepullers had been sorely missed.

To Clarkson the Republican debacle was but the latest and most notable tragedy in a long line of political disasters which had commenced with Harrison's inauguration. "The defeat was inevitable," he stressed to Bruce. Mismanagement had "gradually weakened" the Republican organization. "No party," he insisted, "can make itself ready for successful battle if its self-respect is constantly wounded and its spirit is constantly broken." Harrison did not "deserve to win." Still, Republicanism was "not dead, it cannot die because the Republicans cannot afford to have it die."²⁸

Early in 1893 Clarkson viciously denounced Harrison and his methods once more. In a long interview entitled "Why Harrison Lost," published

²⁴ *Philadelphia Press*, July 2, 1892.

²⁵ Clarkson to John E. Bruce, July 13, 1892, *Bruce Papers* (Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library).

²⁶ *Philadelphia Press*, Aug. 7, 1892; *New York World*, Nov. 2, 1892.

²⁷ Josephson, *Politics*, 515-16.

²⁸ Clarkson to Bruce, Dec. 2, 1892, *Bruce Papers*.

on the same day in such leading newspapers as the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Press*, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, he argued that the chief executive had tried to run the campaign without help from anyone and that his reward had been the resounding Democratic victory. The President, Clarkson continued, should not have been nominated in the first place. Since 1872, Blaine had been the most popular Republican by far, and yet he had received the presidential nomination only in 1884. A "remnant" which dominated the Republican organization during the past twenty years had continually frustrated the majority desire for the former Secretary of State. With the exception of Blaine, no Republican since the 1870's "has possessed a genius for party leadership."

The humiliation of 1892 was a Harrison, not a party, defeat, Clarkson once more insisted. Over a million loyal Republicans had refused to vote for the mediocrity from Indiana. As proof of this assertion, Clarkson pointed out that the President had run far behind other Republican candidates in such key states as New York and Indiana. Four years ago, Harrison had achieved victory with "the help of every drop of Republican blood in this Republic. His election was purely a party and not at all a personal triumph." In 1888 there had been "a union of Republicans for the party's sake, a perfect union and concord in its ranks everywhere." But Harrison from the first had weakened his own organization. He made his administration "the culmination of the idea that party work, regularity and organization is a vulgar, immoral evil." He had chosen his Cabinet "without regard to Republican merit." Two of its members were Mugwumps and had endorsed Cleveland, the Democratic candidate for President, in 1884. Although Harrison had rewarded his enemies, he had rebuked those who had elected him. Thus, "instead of the new Republican administration at Washington proving a new source of encouragement and inspiration to the party at the center it proved a refrigerator to frappe nearly every Republican who journeyed there for suggestion, advice, or consultation."

In intelligence, Clarkson believed, Harrison was the equal of Blaine. "But in the elements of political or party leadership and in constructive and progressive statesmanship Blaine is infinitely superior." The gentleman from Maine was "a leader of men. He was born to it. He can apparently put his soul into other men." Cold and indifferent, Harrison lacked Blaine's charm, vision, and warmth. With careful planning and dynamic leadership,

Harrison in 1888 could have ushered in a twelve to sixteen-year era of Republican domination of the government. Unequal to the task, the President had bungled this glorious opportunity.²⁹

It took only two months of Democratic rule for Clarkson to change his mind completely. After nine weeks of Grover Cleveland, Clarkson, for years the leader of the Republican opposition to Harrison, realized the error of his way and began lauding the former chief executive to the skies. No longer the "White House iceberg," the ex-President was now "gallant Ben Harrison," an indomitable leader who always acted "in the name of liberty." Well had gallant Ben served both the people and his party during his four years in the White House. Unfortunately, Cleveland in but a few weeks had ruined the grand work of the previous Republican administration.³⁰ Truly, election defeats make strange political bedfellows.

²⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 5, 1893; *New York Press*, Feb. 5, 1893; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Feb. 5, 1893.

³⁰ *Annual Address of James S. Clarkson, President of the National Republican League of the United States . . . May 10, 1893, 4*, in *James S. Clarkson Papers* (Library of Congress), Box 1.

IOWA NEWSPAPERS REPORT THE 1860 NOMINATION OF LINCOLN

*Compiled by Mildred Throne**

Presidential nominating conventions one hundred years ago had both similarities to and differences from present-day conventions. Delegates came from several states, ready to parade and shout for their favorites; after one or two ballots, a certain amount of behind-the-scenes trading marshalled the delegates behind the strongest candidate; the final choice was greeted with at least a surface appearance of unity. On the other hand, nominating speeches, in the days before loud-speaker systems, were mercifully short, and the candidates themselves were modestly absent, leaving the work of the convention to their lieutenants. The delegates, uninfluenced by presidential preference primaries or public opinion polls, made their own decisions as to the "best man," decisions often controlled by one or two strong men in each delegation. These leaders decided among themselves which man was the strongest, which man could carry the crucial states, which man had the fewest enemies or the "safest" record on the issues that could divide the party, which man was the most "available." By a judicious juggling of all these factors, they made their choice. Sometimes they were right, sometimes wrong. In the Republican nomination of 1860, the choice of Abraham Lincoln was certainly right — in fact, it was a better choice than any of the delegates probably realized at the time.

The Iowa newspapers, in the months before the convention, devoted surprisingly little space to the presidential nomination, compared with modern papers. Some editors had discussed the possibilities early in 1859,¹ but the gubernatorial election of that year interested them more. With Samuel J. Kirkwood safely elected governor in October, 1859, a few papers carried short articles, discussing the various presidential possibilities. But the John Brown raid on Harper's Ferry, the fight in Congress over the Speakership, and the meeting of the Iowa General Assembly occupied most of the space

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¹ Frank I. Herriott, "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln," *Annals of Iowa* (3 ser.), 9:45-64 (April, 1909).

in the small four-page papers of the day from December through April. With the adjournment of the General Assembly, Iowa Republican editors could at last turn their full attention to the forthcoming national convention at Chicago, called for May 16, 1860.

On January 18, 1860, the Iowa Republicans had met in convention at Des Moines to choose delegates to cast Iowa's eight votes at the convention. Eager to spread political influence as widely as possible, the convention had named thirty-three men to cast these eight votes.² Following are the names of the men chosen:

Delegates at Large

W. Penn Clarke, Johnson County	J. E. Blackford, Kossuth County
L. C. Noble, Fayette County	5th — Thomas Seeley, Guthrie County
John A. Kasson, Polk County	C. C. Nourse, Polk County
Henry O'Connor, Muscatine County	6th — Wm. M. Stone, Marion County
J. F. Wilson, Jefferson County	J. B. Grinnell, Poweshiek County
J. S. Rankin, Lee County	7th — Wm. A. Warren, Jackson County
M. L. McPherson, Madison County	J. W. Thompson, Scott County
C. F. Clarkson, Grundy County	8th — John Shane, Benton County
N. J. Rusch, Scott County	William Smith, Linn County
H. P. Scholte, Marion County	9th — Wm. B. Allison, Dubuque County
Rev. John Johns, Webster County	J. F. Brown, Black Hawk County
<i>District Delegates</i>	10th — Reuben Noble, Clayton County
1st — Alvin Saunders, Henry County	E. G. Bowdoin, Floyd County
J. C. Walker, Lee County	11th — W. P. Hepburn, Marshall County
2nd — H. Clay Caldwell, Van Buren County	J. F. Brown, Hardin County
M. Baker, Wapello County	
3rd — Benj. Rector, Fremont County	
George A. Hawley, Decatur County	
4th — A. W. Hubbard, Woodbury County	

Of these men, H. Clay Caldwell, A. W. Hubbard, and J. E. Blackford did not go to Chicago; their votes were cast by alternates J. W. Caldwell, Herbert M. Hoxie, and Jacob Butler. Although Governor Kirkwood was not a delegate, he attended the convention and was active in influencing the delegation. Uninstructed, and refusing to vote as a unit, the Iowa delegates,

² Des Moines *Iowa Citizen*, Jan. 25, 1860; Frank I. Herriott, "The Republican State Convention, Des Moines, January 18, 1860," *Annals of Iowa* (3 ser.), 9:401-446 (July-October, 1910).

with their fractional votes, cast two ballots for Seward, one each for Bates, McLean, Cameron, and Chase, and two for Lincoln on the first ballot. On the second, the two votes for Seward remained firm, while $\frac{1}{2}$ vote each was cast for Chase and McLean; the remaining five went to Lincoln. On the third and final ballot, two votes were Seward's, $\frac{1}{2}$ Chase's, while $5\frac{1}{2}$ were given to Lincoln.³ With the nomination of Lincoln assured on this ballot, Iowa then swung her eight votes into his column.

It is impossible to tell how the Iowa delegates voted individually, except in a few cases. Seward of New York had strong supporters among Iowa Republicans; among the delegates, W. Penn Clarke, Henry O'Connor, and H. P. Scholte were out-and-out Seward men. On the other hand, Alvin Saunders, J. C. Walker, and C. C. Nourse were strong for Lincoln, backed by the influence of Governor Kirkwood. Wm. B. Allison and William Smith were known to favor Chase to the last; while John A. Kasson was a Bates man. J. W. Rankin preferred Cameron, and Coker F. Clarkson liked Judge McLean.⁴

Eleven men received votes on the first ballot at Chicago. The most popular, and conceded by many to be the winner, was William H. Seward of New York, governor and United States Senator. But many Westerners considered Seward too "radical" because of his unfortunate "irrepressible conflict" speech of 1858, and they looked askance at his manager, the unsavory "Boss" Tweed. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois came second in the balloting. His "conservative" reputation was in his favor; his debates with Stephen A. Douglas in 1858 and his Cooper Union speech in February, 1860, had given him a nationwide reputation; he was a Western man who could carry the doubtful states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, and Indiana. Edward Bates of Missouri had the backing of Horace Greeley, powerful New York editor, but his nativist tendencies alienated the German vote, a factor which had to be considered in assessing his "availability." Simon Cameron, boss of Pennsylvania, had some small support, but here again Know-Nothing antecedents angered the Germans. Ohio was split between support for two of her sons: Salmon P. Chase and Benjamin F.

³ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, May 23, 1860.

⁴ Frank I. Herriott, "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln," *Annals of Iowa* (3 ser.), 8:94-109 *passim* (July, 1907); "A Delegate's Memories of the Chicago Convention of 1860. An Interview with Hon. Charles C. Nourse, Des Moines, April 26 and May 12, 1907," *ibid.*, 12:454-64 *passim* (October, 1920).

Wade. John McLean, of Ohio, a justice of the United States Supreme Court, and a "legalistic old fogey," according to historian Allan Nevins, was seventy-five years old in 1860, but even this did not deter some from supporting him. Favorite sons who received complimentary votes were John C. Fremont, the colorful 1856 candidate; William L. Dayton of New Jersey, the 1856 vice-presidential nominee; Jacob Collamer of Vermont; John M. Read of Pennsylvania; and, on the second and third ballots, Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky.⁵

To illustrate what Iowans read in their local papers about the preliminaries and the convention, the following selections had been taken from a scattering of Republican papers in late 1859 and in the months before the convention met in May, 1860. Several points stand out: the strong partiality for Seward, but the early mention of Lincoln; the apparent unawareness (either failure to recognize or refusal to publicize) the fact that a Republican victory would result in Seward's "irrepressible conflict"; the refusal of most editors, loyal Republicans, to take a strong stand for any one man, thus leaving themselves free to cheer for the nominee, whoever he might be; and the constant stress on the *party* rather than the *man*. The newspaper reports actually tell little of what really happened at Chicago; the true story of the convention could only be told by historians years later. The following selections show what the newspaper reader of 1860 knew about a momentous political event, and are a distinct contrast to the coverage of political questions by modern reporters.

PRESIDENTIAL ⁶

A glorious uncertainty prevails as to the men who are likely to enjoy the honor of leading the Republican hosts to victory in the next Presidential canvass. The fall elections having closed, the press is giving more at-

⁵ For accounts of the convention, see J. G. Randall, *Lincoln, the President . . .* (2 vols., New York, 1945), 1:157-77; Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (2 vols., New York, 1950), 2:229-60.

⁶ Des Moines *Weekly Citizen*, Nov. 30, 1859. This paper, the forerunner of the *Register*, was edited at this time by John Teesdale, a native of England, who had edited newspapers in Virginia and Ohio before moving to Iowa City, where he edited the *Iowa City Republican* for a number of years. When the capital of Iowa was moved from Iowa City to Des Moines in 1858, Teesdale moved his paper, renamed it the *Des Moines Citizen*, and made it into one of the leading Republican papers in the State. B. F. Gue, *History of Iowa . . .* (4 vols., New York, 1903), 4:259-60.

tention to the question; but thus far, without any expression of sufficient significance to foreshadow the action of the coming National Convention. The Chicago *Tribune* recently presented some reflections upon the subject, which, in the main, were sound and just. The weak point, in its argument — if such it may be called — was its aim to make the action of the convention dependent upon the wishes of the few northern States that withheld their votes from Fremont in 1856. It occurs to us, as all important, first, to make such nominations as will meet the approbation of those States whose votes may be regarded as certain for the Republican nominees. The main question before the convention is (says the *Tribune*) “who can carry Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania,” or the last — without regard to the other three. The Convention may be able to settle this question satisfactorily, without being a particle nearer success, than when it commenced its labors. The nomination of Simon Cameron might settle the question for Pennsylvania; but it is by no means certain that such a nomination would not endanger other States, regarded as unalterably Republican. The nomination of Mr. Lincoln would secure Illinois, beyond peradventure; but is there not a possibility that such a nomination would endanger some of the old Republican States? We merely suggest the inquiry, without affirming that such is the case.

All the indications furnished by the late elections, combine to justify the conclusion that every free State in the Union, excepting California, may be regarded as safe for the Republican nominees; if those nominees be men of the right stamp, truly representing Republican principles. This is the all-important point. Public sentiment has been educated up to the right point. It demands the inauguration of a policy, undubitably Republican, in the national councils. The Republican nominees should be men who have been tried, as by fire, on the great issues before the country, and in the struggles of the past. Anything short of this will not meet the expectations of the awakened masses. To award the honors the distinctions of station to mere camp followers, eleventh-hour men, to the neglect of those who have borne the heat and burthen of the fight, is a policy destructive of all political organization; one calculated to repress the energies and cool the ardor of the gallant soldier. — Yet there is a strong inclination, we fear, to do this very thing. Against it would we raise our voice now, and all the time.

The result of the recent election in New York, establishes the fact to our mind, that Mr. Seward can carry that State. A thousand majority for or against the Union ticket, in a State like New York, is too small to be regarded for a moment. With the name of Mr. Seward before the people of that State, the reserve Republican vote would all be out. There can never again be a union of the Democracy and the Americans⁷ of that State. Each organization will stand upon its own basis, next November; and whether the Democracy are united or divided, they will be crushed, in the Empire State, as between the upper and nether millstone. Yet it would not surprise us to learn that Mr. Seward, when he returns home,⁸ refused to allow his name to be used, if there is a shadow of doubt as to his acceptability to the Republicans of any of the States whose votes are needed to ensure success. He never will seek or accept a nomination, that is not equivalent to an election, while there is another soldier in the field who can ensure success to the cause. At least, such is our estimate of the lofty patriotism of the man.

An opportunity was afforded during our late tour eastward, to ascertain something of the sentiment in Ohio, Michigan and Illinois. In the first-named State the current still sets strongly in favor of Mr. Chase; but some facts come to our knowledge calculated to awaken an apprehension that the friends of Mr. Corwin⁹ are inclined to oppose the Chase movement. A movement in the same quarter prevented Ohio from giving her vote to Judge McLean at the convention of 1848; and it may prove disastrous to the aspirations of Mr. Chase, in the convention of 1860. — Yet no doubt can be entertained of the ability of Mr. C. to carry that State; and if he is the choice of the other States, he ought to receive the nomination, regardless of the opposition alluded to. There is a quiet movement in favor of Judge McLean and Senator Wade; but of its strength we cannot speak advisedly.

Michigan is for Seward, earnestly and persistently. It is said that there is but one Republican journal in that State adverse to his nomination. The *Tribune* and *Advertiser* of Detroit — the leading Republican journals of Michigan — are both able and zealous in that behalf.

⁷ The "Americans" were members of the Know-Nothing party.

⁸ Seward spent the summer and fall of 1859 in Europe. Thornton K. Lothrop, *William Henry Seward* (Boston, 1898), 203.

⁹ Thomas Corwin of Ohio, former governor and United States Senator.

Illinois is for Lincoln; with a side-current in favor of Trumbull.¹⁰ These distinguished men deserve to be held in high esteem throughout the Union; and their gallant labors for the redemption of their State will give them much prominence in the National Convention. Lincoln possesses, most fully, the elements of personal popularity. His genial traits bind his friends to him as by hooks of steel.

Iowa has not yet indicated her preference. She bides her time. Her devotion to the cause of Republicanism makes her vote certain as that of Vermont for the Republican nominees. When Mr. Seward returns home, and the course his friends design to take is indicated at Washington, a general movement may be anticipated.

FREMONT AND DAYTON¹¹

A political and personal friend and a sound and reliable Iowa Republican, in whose good sense and good judgment we have much confidence, urges us to put at the head of our paper the names of Fremont and Dayton as candidates for President and Vice President in 1860. . . . He thinks the claims of Fremont at least equal to those of Seward or Chase — that nothing is to be gained by courting Old Line Whig votes, and there is no use trying to nominate a candidate to suit them — that our recruits are to come from the Democratic party, and that we should nominate a candidate with Democratic antecedents. Fremont, he thinks, has more strength among the people than any other candidate. That we shall save disappointment and dissatisfaction and gain strength by keeping his name before the people — that as was the case in 1836 with Gen. Harrison, we should have kept Mr. Fremont's name prominently before the country from the election of 1856 down to the canvass of 1860.

These, with many others, are the reasons urged by our friend, why we should put up the names of Fremont and Dayton. We give them to our readers for their consideration.

¹⁰ Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, United States Senator, had some supporters for the 1860 nomination, but he himself favored Judge McLean, although the Illinois delegation as a whole was pledged to Lincoln. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 1:151.

¹¹ Burlington *Weekly Hawk-Eye*, Dec. 10, 1859. Edited by Clark Dunham, a native of Vermont, who had been editor of the Newark (Ohio) *Gazette* for fourteen years before moving to Iowa in 1854. Purchasing the Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Dunham became one of the most prominent and influential Republican editors of the state. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:82.

PRESIDENTIAL ¹²

As the time for the meeting of the National Convention approaches a number of Republican Journals are naming their favorites for the Presidency. This course may be all well enough, but we are inclined to doubt its policy. There are hundreds of men within our ranks who are qualified for the place. But one man can attain to it. In a contest involving so much as that of 1860 will involve, all personal and mercenary considerations should be lost sight of. A man who is as true as steel to the principles of free Government should be selected. This fact being cared for, the man, who under all the circumstances, could bring to his support the largest force in doubtful States, should be the choice of the Convention. We do not think this last named point can be determined understandingly so long before the meeting of the Convention; and hence we think it unwise to forestall public opinion or create prejudices in the minds of voters which may stand in the way of our final success. Let us confide in the judgment of the men who will compose the Convention, and resolve to ratify their action at the polls in November next.

 THE PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION ¹³

Various speculations are afloat respecting the prospects of the Republican party in the coming Presidential struggle. It seems to be admitted that a united opposition, with candidates commanding the respect and confidence of the masses of the voters opposed to the present Administration, not only can be, but will be successful, provided there is a general disposition to yield strong personal preferences, with the earnest desire to rout the bogus Democracy from power. We have been looking over the ground carefully, and have indulged in some reflections to which we feel disposed to give expression.

First, then, in view of the fact that nearly all if not every electoral vote will have to be procured from Free States, this portion of the confederacy will demand the candidate for the Presidency, if not that for the Vice President also. Second, that men of conservative tendencies, yet inflexibly

¹² Mount Pleasant *Home Journal*, Dec. 24, 1859.

¹³ Davenport *Gazette*, Dec. 29, 1859. Edited by brothers, Alfred and Addison H. Sanders. "Add" Sanders, as he was popularly known, was a prominent Republican who had come to Davenport in October, 1856, to take editorial charge of his brother's paper. Under his editorship it became another of the influential Republican papers of the state. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:230-31.

fixed in their opposition to the extension of Slavery — men, the record of whose public acts proves that they will uphold the Constitution and the Union firmly and with dignity — will be more likely to unite thoroughly the elements of opposition than any others. Third, that strong exponents of those great interests, encouragement to American Industry, Internal Improvement and Protection to Settlers on the Public Domain, should be put in nomination.

The Republican States in 1856 cast 114 electoral votes, to which may be added certainly, in the approaching contest, Minnesota, making 118 votes. Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with their 34 votes, will then be wanted to make a majority, provided Kansas is admitted at this session of Congress, and goes Republican, as she undoubtedly will.¹⁴ It is plain, that our efforts must be directed to secure the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois, or enough of them, at least, to give us the victory.

We are just commencing throughout the country to appoint delegates to the National Convention, to be held at Chicago, June 13th,¹⁵ and it becomes us as good and true members of the community, to ponder well the existing state of things, free from unreasonable personal bias. In our ranks we have men of mark who can be elected, almost beyond question — and, such as these, we desire to have placed before the people, in order to make a sure thing of having the management of the Federal Government change hands. Events show that the time has come, when, irrespective of mere party feeling, the reins of power should be assumed by a purer and more reliable man than either the present incumbent or his immediate predecessor.

Many gentlemen have been named prominently for the Presidency. Messrs. Seward, Bates, Chase, Bell, Cameron, Crittenden and Fremont, besides several others who have their earnest advocates, and to each, as is usual on such occasions, objections have been stated. Among the latter we have seen the name of Mr. Dayton suggested, our candidate for Vice President four years ago, and although he is by no means our first choice, yet we think he has elements of strength not to be overlooked, and which should give more importance than they have yet done to the suggestion of

¹⁴ Kansas was not admitted to the Union until 1861.

¹⁵ This was the original date set for the Republican National Convention. It was later changed to May 16, 1860.

his name. His friends have high hopes, and are so confident that he can carry the united opposition of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, that his name must we think of necessity be conspicuous before the National Convention. If they are right in their conjectures all we have to say is, that, if nominated, the show for his inauguration in 1861, is about as fair as one could desire — and, in giving utterance to this sentiment, we do not wish to be understood by any means, that no other Republican could be equally successful.

Mr. Dayton has a pure record, great ability as a statesman, and came out of the battle of '56 stronger than he went in. His election to the Presidency would perhaps be as acceptable to the whole Union as that of any other man in it. Although not our original nor present preference, it would be a labor of pleasure and of patriotism with us to help elect Mr. Dayton, if nominated by the National Republican Convention. — We are desirous that the claims brought forward by his friends, with their confidence in his possession of peculiar elements of strength, should receive more general examination on the part of the Republican Press of the country. As all the gentlemen whose names have been suggested are good Republicans and able men, citizens of position, experience and integrity, the nomination of our candidate is more a question of *strength* than anything else. When all are good and well qualified men, he should receive the nomination who possesses the greatest attributes of strength — who is most likely to make the best race — and feelings of personal friendship should be laid aside by Delegates [as] far as possible, to secure the object.

PRESIDENTIAL ¹⁶

The Presidential question is agitated with more freedom, as the time of nomination draws near; but thus far, we are pleased to see that the agitation is characterized by good temper, and a disposition to sacrifice all personal considerations and preferences for the sake of success. A correspondent of the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, who dates his letter at Burlington, Iowa (supposed to be the Hon. Fitz Henry Warren),¹⁷ earnestly opposes the nomination of Mr. Bates, of Missouri, for reasons that have much force. The temper of the letter is good. By some, Horace Greeley is re-

¹⁶ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Feb. 25, 1860.

¹⁷ Fitz Henry Warren of Burlington, one of the state's leading Republicans. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:278-9.

garded as favoring the nomination of Mr. Bates; but he has not so said. The New York Evening Post, like the New York Courier and Inquirer, demands the nomination of a man who is distinctly with and for us; whose principles are our principles, and who glories in the name of Republicanism. It closes an able article thus: —

It is evident, then, that the Republican party ought to select its Presidential candidate from its own men, and not to go outside of its own ranks under any consideration whatever. If those opponents of the administration who have no stable organization of their own are in earnest in what they profess they will have no difficulty in voting for such men as we present. But if they insist upon our taking their men as the sole condition of their votes, it will show that they are not sincere in their co-operation, but in fact had rather see the Democratic party succeed than allow a truly Republican administration. To select our candidate from among those who labored so earnestly as to defeat us in 1856, would be degrading as well as suicidal. If we are willing to have a man who stands upon the same ground with Fillmore, how can we justify ourselves for not having voted for Fillmore the last time?¹⁸ But indeed, if we are willing to take such a man now, we had best by all means take Fillmore himself, with his prestige of experience and statesmanlike knowledge and habits.

But no real Republican is willing to take the back track now, when the tide of public feeling against the slave power is so much higher than it ever was before. If the outside will vote with us for our man, give them all the credit, and let them have for their reward the blessings of a renovated government and a country rescued from dishonor. If they will not do this, they might better defeat us in the election than destroy us after it, which they would be sure to do if we give the power into the hands of their men.

With such men as Seward and Chase, Banks and Lincoln and others in plenty, let us have two Republican representative men to vote for. Let us have candidates, first of all, who will unite and consolidate our own ranks, and prepare us for further service.

THE PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION¹⁹

Who ought and who will the Chicago Convention nominate for Presi-

¹⁸ Millard Fillmore had been nominated by the Know-Nothing, or American, party in 1856. The Republican party in 1860 was faced with the delicate task of attracting the votes of former Know-Nothings without accepting their nativist theories or choosing a candidate with a known Know-Nothing background.

¹⁹ Ottumwa Courier, Mar. 1, 1860. An indication that the Courier was trying to

dent is a question now very frequently and anxiously propounded; but it is a question not so easy to answer as it is to ask. Heretofore, the press of the Party, with scarcely an exception, have prudently abstained from the discussion of this question, or at least from expressing a preference for any particular man named in connection with the position. Recently, however, the pressure of public curiosity and anxiety, has been such, that most of the leading journals of the party have been forced to throw off their reserve, and proceed to a serious examination of the various prominent men in the ranks of the party who are recognized as possessing qualifications and claims as standard-bearers of the party at this juncture.

A recent number of the *New York Tribune* contains an article, attributed to Mr. Greeley, in which the position and preference of that paper are set forth, in clear and unmistakable language. In that article the *Tribune* expresses what we doubt not is a universal preference of the Republican Party, in favor of New York's favorite son and ablest statesman, Wm. H. Seward, and next to him that true, able and faithful son of Ohio, Salmon P. Chase. If it should appear that either of these distinguished gentlemen can reasonably be expected to command as many or more votes than any other, the decision of which question is deferred to the convention, then one of these is the *Tribune's* man; but if it should appear that either or both of these great and good men, though undoubtedly and unquestionably preferred by all true, out and out Republicans, in all parts of the country, for the first place in the Republic, should not be so strong with, or not the first choice of, those who are not perhaps strictly speaking Republicans, but who are opposed, as we are, to all shades of Modern Democracy, especially to that faction who uphold the present corrupt Administration, then, and in that case the *Tribune* is of the opinion that Edward Bates, of Missouri, is the next most available candidate, and should be nominated.²⁰

So much for the *Tribune*, whose opinions are entitled to great weight with Republicans. Other papers take a different view of the matter. The [Chicago] *Press* and *Tribune*, the leading paper of the North-west advocates zealously the nomination of Abram [sic] Lincoln, than whom, an

be impartial is the issue of March 8, 1860. In that number there is a two-and-a-half column article on Lincoln, taken from the Chester County (Penn.) *Times*; a column-and-a-half article on Edward Bates; and a half-column quote from the *New York Tribune* on "Seward's Great Speech."

²⁰ Actually, Greeley strongly opposed Seward and worked hard for the nomination of Bates. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 1:147-50.

abler, more popular, or better man does not exist, West or East. Pennsylvania goes strongly for Simon Cameron, while Fremont, Dayton, Read, Banks, Fessenden and others have their warm friends and zealous advocates.

For ourself, we can say that, while we can cheerfully support any man named, if nominated, we are yet inclined to the opinion, that as the time approaches when a final decision must be rendered, the eyes and hearts of all our friends will turn with more and more confidence to that earliest advocate and champion of human rights, without distinction of birth-place, or sect or complexion, WM. H. SEWARD of New York. We are inclined to think that the impending contest is to be one of principle, and that it will be found far less necessary to consult and be governed by expediency than heretofore. — We shall be every way satisfied with a ticket headed with SEWARD and LINCOLN, and we believe it would be a very strong, and a winning one. There are many about us, however, who think differently. We are all agreed, however, to leave the matter to the Chicago Convention, and the Republicans of the Nation may rest assured, that, whoever are the nominees, the flag will be promptly run up in Old Wapello, and that the Republicans of this country will, to a man, rally around it, and fight under it to the end of the “irrepressible conflict.”

PRESIDENTIAL ²¹

Mr. Greeley's prediction, that Judge Douglas would receive the Charleston nomination, has created more comment than it deserved. He is, to be sure, a man whose judgments are entitled to respect, but if he is distinguished for one thing more than any or all others, it is for his prophecies which are not inspired. He predicted that Gen. Taylor would not be nominated in 1848 — that Scott would be elected in 1852 — that Pennsylvania would go for Fremont in 1856. These are but a few of his major prophecies unfulfilled, whilst those in the minor key are like sands of the sea, innumerable for multitude. But suppose Douglas should receive the nomination — what then? No republican has been converted to his heresies since 1856. The popular vote of Illinois is against him, even with all his power on the stump, which could not be exercised were he the nominee. He could not carry New Jersey a whit easier than any other democratic candidate — that is, now, he could not carry it at all. It is extremely

²¹ Burlington *Weekly Hawk-Eye*, Mar. 3, 1860.

doubtful whether he could carry even California, for his opposition to the administration injures him vastly there, whilst his cold neglect of Broderick will not have a tendency to earn him friends with the opposition in that State.²²

As for Indiana, he could carry it by a rousing majority, just as any other man nominated at Charleston can. Alabama is not more reliably Democratic than Indiana. Her Egypt is too great yet for her land of promise — her illiterate voters south of the national road out-number by thousands the Yankees of the north. Whether Douglas be the Charleston nominee, or not, the fight has got to be made in Pennsylvania. For the Chicago nominee can carry, except in the event of gross lack of duty on the part of Republicans, any State carried by Fremont, with New Jersey and Illinois added, which latter, by the way, Fremont would have had on an *honest* count of the vote.

It must be admitted that Pennsylvania politics are a good deal "mixed up." We have there your old-line Whigs, who take their toddy regularly, and believe in the divine authority of that which is written, as found in the Fugitive Slave Law. We have there silver-gray Whigs, who differ from the others only in being ill-natured. There is there a very large number of men who will not vote for any one who does not believe in making the present very injudicious tariff law a *judicious* law, according to the Jacksonian notion.

Then there are many Americans there who still fondly dream of 1854, and are not anxious to give up their ideas of a distinctive organization. All these, united with the straight out Republicans, compose what is called the People's Party, having a common detestation of the present Administration, but needing something more than a mere Chicago *platform* to unite them in such way as to insure the success of the Chicago nominee. It should seem to be the duty, therefore, of the Chicago Convention well to consider, and thoroughly to understand, the state of parties in Pennsylvania, before choosing a nominee, for as that shall be considered, understood, and *provided for*, or not, so we shall have a candidate who will lead us on to victory or defeat. As for this talk that we hear about "rep-

²² In October, 1859, a Douglas supporter in California, David C. Broderick, was killed in a duel sparked by the serious split in the Democratic party between the followers of Douglas and those of Buchanan. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, 2:68-9.

representative men" it simply means Banks with the Banks men, Seward with the Seward men, and Chase with the Chase men — merely this and nothing more.

We do indeed want a *Republican*, and rest assured the Chicago Convention will nominate no other. But we want more — we want a Republican who can carry Pennsylvania. There is a Republican living there who can do it. His Republicanism is beyond suspicion — his abilities not showy, but substantial — his personal popularity actually immense. SIMON CAMERON, a live Republican whom we can elect, sounds better in my ears, I admit, than the name of any other statesman of our party, whom we merely *might* elect. So we think generally out on the

SLOPE

For the Home Journal

THE NEXT PRESIDENT ²³

The question is frequently asked, Who will be the Nominee at Chicago? and quite a considerable excitement seems to exist in certain localities to have this apparently important question answered. Now, however much sincerity these persons possess — however desirous they may be for the success of the Republican party, we cannot help but think, that this imaginary conjecturing, and fighting over the claims and fitness of certain prominent men in the party, is not only uncalled for, but absolutely injurious. That the Convention at Chicago will be composed of the best men in the Republican party, who, we have no doubt, will in their action look to the success of the party — and not to the claims of any one man, however much he may have labored for the success of the principles advocated by the Republican party — or however anxious his friends and admirers may be for his nomination.

It is not by any means absolutely certain that the next President of the United States will be the nominee of the Republican party. There is a battle to fight — one that will require the earnest support and steady labor of every Republican throughout the country. Our chances are fair; if we stand united we can reasonably hope for success. But let us wait the action of those upon whom we have placed the responsibility of choosing a candidate for us, and whoever that may be, let him come from the North or South, East or West, let us give him our hearty and unqualified support.

²³ Mount Pleasant *Home Journal*, Mar. 3, 1860.

No man can claim the nomination as a right. The man who can succeed is the man to nominate; let it be Seward, Bates, Cameron, Chase, Lincoln or Banks — no matter who. It is not the man, but the principle we are battling for. Let us then as Republicans stand clear and uncommitted, and when the nomination is made, let the nominee be adopted as *our choice*, and work for his success untrammelled with any former expression of preference.

Whoever may be chosen for our standard bearer is a matter of minor importance, so far as individual claims are concerned — but the union of all our forces upon the man chosen, is of vital importance to our success.

SEWARD AND LINCOLN ²⁴

The Republicans of Minnesota held a State Convention on the 22nd of February to appoint delegates to the Chicago Convention. After appointing the delegates, they passed an excellent set of resolutions, in one of which they declared their preference for Wm. H. Seward as the nominee of the latter convention.

There is no doubt but that Mr. Seward is the choice of a greater number of Republicans for that post than favor any other man. His nomination would secure New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey beyond a doubt.

The only question to be solved is, as to his availability. It is thought by many — and the Republicans of Connecticut [*sic*] in State Convention, have indirectly, so expressed themselves — that he is not sufficiently conservative upon the principles of Republicanism to be available; and this we believe will be the solution of the question by the Chicago Convention.

Should Douglas be the nominee of the Charleston Convention, Mr. Seward is certainly not the man that should be placed in nomination by the Republicans; for we cannot afford to lose Illinois and Indiana.

Abe Lincoln of Illinois is then our man, for no other Republican, who stands any chance of receiving the nomination, would carry with him as many votes. — For this reason and the fact that Mr. Lincoln is right on the tariff question to suit the manufacturing States, we are inclined to believe he is the man to head the hosts of Republicans in the coming campaign. At any rate we shall hurrah for him, until we hurrah for some body else.

²⁴ Toledo Iowa Transcript, Mar. 8, 1860.

SEWARD'S SPEECH ²⁵

The speech of Gov. Seward, delivered in the Senate, a few days since, to a crowded and profoundly attentive auditory, is less eloquent and pungent than many of his previous efforts in that body; but more than any of his previous efforts, it is characterized by the temper and spirit of the Christian patriot, whose faith in the power of truth and the beneficence of freedom, never falters; because he knows that God reigns, and overrules the actions of men for the accomplishment of his own ends, which are ever for the highest good of his creatures.

The conservative character of a speech that has already been circulated in all parts of the country, will do much to reconcile thousands to the support of Gov. Seward, who have been prone to regard him as the embodiment of all the ultraism in the Republican party. It is strange that any such impression should have gained credence; but the fact that it has done so, is not to be disputed. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was constrained to acknowledge the patriotic spirit that pervaded the speech, and the soundness of most of its inculcations. Just to the extent that it commended itself to the better feelings of a vast majority of those who heard him, was it painful and obnoxious to Douglas; upon whom it justly fastened the guilt of much that has been evil, and evil only, in the legislation of the country. — Douglas saw and felt that Republican doctrines, as portrayed to his hearers by Gov. Seward, could not fail to win their way to the convictions of multitudes who have been misled by the fallacies of squatter sovereignty; and that they would, at the same time, render more formidable as a competitor, one whose prospects of a nomination at Chicago, are and have been, all the time, better than those of any other man.

The fact is not to be gainsayed, that the country, at this time, feels a profounder interest in the movements of Gov. Seward, than in those of any other man in public life. The intense interest with which the delivery of his speech was anticipated at Washington, show that the politicians realize the hold he has upon the affections and confidence of the people. No speech delivered during the present session of Congress, will be half as widely published and read as that of Gov. Seward. His friends have

²⁵ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Mar. 10, 1860. Seward's Senate speech of Feb. 29, 1860, was a deliberate attempt to allay the fears of Republicans that he was too "radical" on the question of slavery. Thousands of copies were printed and distributed throughout the country, and many Republican papers printed the speech in full. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, 2:181-3.

been aroused to new activity, and his opponents have been in a measure disarmed by it. Its peaceful, hopeful spirit, will tend to calm the elements of sectional strife. In a word, this speech will go far to render Mr. Seward irresistible at Chicago, and to confirm the national desire to see him elevated to the Presidency.

PRESIDENTIAL ²⁶ — Every body is anxious to anticipate the Convention and know who are to be the candidates. Our opinion is often asked, little as it is worth. To save the trouble of repeating it to every curious inquirer, and not with the expectation of influencing any one, we propose to give it here. We believe the chances of Mr. Seward, for the first place on the ticket to be nominated at Chicago, are daily improving — that since the publication of his last great speech he is felt by Republicans throughout the country to be the man for the place. Should he be nominated Mr. Bates is likely to be named for the Vice Presidency. . . .

WHO WILL BE A CANDIDATE! ²⁷

As the time draws near, for the holding of the two great National Conventions — one on the 23 of April, and the other on the 16 of May — the question of who will be the candidates is being earnestly discussed. — The Democracy are sorely divided on the subject. The North West appear to be a unit for Douglas, and he has a part of the delegates from the East-line and a very few from the South. The ultra southern men together with the administration forces are against him, but upon whom they will unite is entirely uncertain. It may be Hunter of Virginia, Breckinridge of Kentucky, or even Frank Pierce of New Hampshire. As for the Republicans, the contest appears to be between Seward of New York, Chase of Ohio, and Cameron of Penn. If a republican, pure and simple is nominated, it will be one of these gentlemen. Others are named — Lincoln of Illinois among them — but his chances do not at present appear very great, although he would make a strong candidate and an excellent President. Beyond these names, we have also that of Bates of Missouri, who if he will place himself fairly and squarely on the Republican Platform, will have numerous friends.

²⁶ Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Mar. 17, 1860.

²⁷ Council Bluffs *Nonpareil*, Mar. 17, 1860.

HON. A. LINCOLN, OF ILLINOIS ²⁸

This gentleman recently delivered a masterly speech at the Cooper's Institute,²⁹ in N.Y.; numbering his hearers, on the occasion, by thousands. The speech has been widely published and circulated; and is everywhere regarded as an unanswerable showing against the Slave Democracy. From New York, Mr. Lincoln proceeded to New England, where he delivered several speeches. Inded, it is said, that he spoke every day during his visit to the East, everywhere making a host of friends, who would rally with enthusiasm to his support if he should receive the Chicago nomination. Next to Gov. Seward, we regard his chances of receiving the nomination, as better than those of any other man; although Mr. Bates and Mr. Cameron will, probably, both have more friends than is generally supposed. The visit of Mr. Lincoln to the East will give him prominence among those whose first expression will be for Seward, but who recognize the claims of the West as very strong.

A LETTER FROM JUDGE BATES ³⁰

St. Louis, March 20. — Edward Bates addressed a letter to the Missouri delegates to the Chicago Convention in reply to interrogatories propounded him by them. . . . The main points are as follows: He has no new opinions on the subject of slavery; none formed with reference to the present array of parties. His are coeval with the Missouri question of 1820 — formed his opinions then, and has not changed them since. At the time of the Revolution, and long after, slavery was regarded as an evil, temporary in its nature and likely to disappear in course of time, yet while it continued it was a misfortune to the country socially and politically. Slavery is a social institution — a domestic institution. It exists by local law. The

²⁸ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Mar. 23, 1860.

²⁹ Lincoln's justly famous Cooper Union speech, delivered in New York on Feb. 27, 1860, two days before Seward spoke in the Senate, attracted less attention in Iowa newspapers than did Seward's.

³⁰ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Mar. 24, 1860. Bates, like Seward in his Senate speech, tried to allay prejudices against him by this letter, which "had the right freesoil ring." Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, 2:238. The *Register*, on Mar. 24, commented on this letter: "A frank and outspoken avowal of his sentiments on the issues of the day, has at length been made by Mr. Bates, of Missouri. If the telegraphic report of his letter . . . is correct, he has left nothing unsaid that was necessary to a proper understanding of his position. He will go into the Chicago Convention with greatly increased chances of success, in consequence of this letter. . . ."

Federal Government has no control over it in the States. The Territories are subject and subordinate — not supreme like the States. The nation is supreme over them. He is opposed to the extension of slavery, and in his opinion the spirit and policy of the government ought to be against its extension.

The constitution does not carry slavery into the Territories nor anywhere. It only acts upon it where it is established by local law. The Dred Scott case only decides Scott was not a citizen. The opinions of the Judges beyond this are extra-judicial and of no authority. The questions discussed by them were political, and not within their cognisance, and belong and could be disposed of only by the political departments. The discussion was not unfortunate, as it produced dangerous conflicts between co-ordinate branches of the Government.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE³¹

WASHINGTON, March 12, 1860

PRESIDENTIAL

The great topic of the times is the Presidency, with Republicans, of course, as well as the Democrats. I have myself not made many remarks about it, for in point of fact I do not feel immensely interested in it, as between individuals, and do not attach as much importance to persons, in this connection, as many; for, in the first place, there is hardly a man named for the position whom I could not cheerfully and enthusiastically support; and, in the second place, whatever may be believed, feared, or suspected, this campaign will be substantially fought *on principle* — I think more specifically and generally so than any campaign that has occurred for a long time — and that the name or locality of the candidate, so he is only a sound man of good personal character, is really of not very great importance. I might add, further, as leading me to feel indifferent concerning any discussion of parties, is the confidence that the Chicago Convention will not by any artifice or appeal be swerved from the purpose of selecting that sound and safe man who is most likely to be elected.

Yet, as the time is rapidly approaching when the selection will be made,

³¹ Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Mar. 26, 1860. Edited by James B. Howell, a prominent Republican, who, in 1869, was elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of James W. Grimes. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:136-7.

every one is interestedly speculating as to who the individual is that stands the most favorable chance of nomination. And I am not indisposed to express my own opinion — protesting, however, that there never was a prophet in my family, that I am aware of. I think the question is substantially narrowed down to two individuals. I think there is hardly a possible chance that any other than one of those two can be nominated. Those two are Bates and Seward. And of these two, in all probability, Seward. I think Lincoln is not entirely out of the question. And there is scarcely a living American whom I would choose before him. He has my most ardent admiration for his capacity, tone of mind, and personal character. But though not out of the question, his chances for the first place are few. The tendencies toward the nomination of a representative man, and the respect for the genius, the power, the personal character and political wisdom of Mr. Seward, are wide-spread and pervading. As Washington was “first in the hearts of his countrymen,” so it must be admitted that Seward is first in the hearts of Republicans, and that his countrymen of every shade of politics admit that he is a statesman of the highest rank. In order to prevent his nomination, it must be made very apparent that he cannot be elected, and that some one else very certainly can be. On the score of availability, no one will be pressed with any thing like the pertinacity or reason that Bates will be. Hence my judgment that one or the other will be nominated, and that most likely the nominee will be Seward.

And those who think Seward would be an unavailable candidate in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois, I think judge wrong. Seward has been misrepresented and misjudged. The popular objections to him are ill grounded. What he really is, in spirit and aim, is more fully disclosed by his late speech than by any thing else, and that speech, in spite of everything that could be said or quoted, would be the platform on which he would make the canvass, and by which he would be popularly considered and judged. That platform is a good and satisfactory one in all those States, and while it is winning for him the still more ardent attachment of firm and tried Republicans, it is also disarming his bigoted opponents, and gaining him confidence and support among the classes called “conservative.”

Bates is not and never was my first choice, though the action of the Charleston Convention and the aspect which affairs may yet assume may make him so, and his own merits and existing circumstances may make him the first choice of the Chicago convention. The moral aid which his

vigorous support in some of the border slave States would give us, and to his Administration, if elected, is a valuable item, which the Convention and no thoughtful Republican will overlook. — That on the abstract question of slavery his feelings and his judgment are sound, no one will question. Though comparatively poor, and by that act made poorer, he long ago emancipated his slaves; and lately, at his advice a near relative set all her human chattles free. That, if elected, he would be in every way satisfactory to the Republicans — a firm and thorough Republican President — I am wholly persuaded there is no reason to doubt. That he would heartily stand upon such a platform as the Republicans ought and are likely to lay down at Chicago — and the platform foreshadowed and substantially delineated in the call for the Chicago Convention is such an one — no sensible man can question; and that he would be zealously supported on such a platform by thousands who voted for Fillmore or refrained from voting at all in 1856, I suppose will not be doubted, either. The recent action of the Opposition (not Republican) Convention in Missouri established that. That Convention, consisting in good part of slaveholders, made up promiscuously from the late almost successful Opposition to the Democracy of Missouri, took this position:

They were in favor of Edward Bates for the Presidency;

They were opposed to the heresies of the Democracy on the subject of Slavery in the Territories;

They were opposed to the re-opening of the African slave trade, as barbarous and inhuman;

They were opposed to the anti-republican and anti-loyal doctrine of secession, "promulgated by Southern leaders";

They reprobated the treasonable threats of disunion in case of the election of a President of any political faith;

They announced themselves in favor of Free Homesteads to actual settlers.

They declared that *they* ought not be driven from the support of Bates and these sentiments "by the insatiate howl of Abolitionism."

Now, whatever other people may have charged Republicans to be, or though even some part of the Convention may still suspect it to be something different from the platform which they have laid down, we Republicans who know exactly what we really are, know that this is *our* platform, specifically and completely, and on that platform we can join hands and

labor enthusiastically and unreservedly with any body from any quarter. It is a platform such as is indicated in our National Call. It is such a platform as the united Republican party will lay down at Chicago. It is the platform on which Seward will run, if nominated. This Convention, therefore, shows two things: that a great body of men such as we have indicated are ready to go with us on our substantial doctrines, more especially if Mr. Bates is the candidate; and that Republicans who have been timid and distrustful about the spirit and motives of Mr. Bates and his friends, may safely lay aside their fears and rationally support him with confidence and zeal, if he should receive the nomination.

But yet, with these things to recommend him, I do not think his nomination would call out so much enthusiasm, would stimulate to so general and active effort, would show so large a poll in our favor, even in those districts where votes are most needed, as the nomination of Mr. Seward.

B

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE STATE REGISTER ³²

NEW YORK, March 23, 1860

J. Teesdale, Esq.: — *Dear Sir:* I sit in this great Babel and, waiting for a friend, will serve you with a few words. . . .

New York is full of strangers, and strange to say, notwithstanding John Brown, there is no grass growing in the Commercial streets. Everybody here feels that Union saving is a farce. Wendell Phillips I have just heard, with his matchless and silver eloquence; but not a pillar trembles, and the whole of the brazen throated South are quite as important for evil as ever.

Politicians are profoundly speculative at this time. The wisest, whom I ought to believe, say it is certain that Douglass [*sic*] *will not be nominated*; that being known in this City yesterday. If he should be, it seems a common opinion that we must have Lincoln at the head of our ticket, with Cameron as Vice.

I have seen representative men from several of the doubtful States, and all agree that Seward's chances are bright for the nomination. He is a *man in every sense*, and a leader who would call out such enthusiasm as has never been known in our country. Cameron of Pa., no doubt favors Seward, if out of the question himself.

³² Des Moines Iowa State Register, Mar. 29, 1860.

Who then shall we name for Vice-President from the West? What original Democrat? Trumbull of Ills. and Blair of Mo. are named. I venture to extend the list with the name of our gallant Governor — KIRKWOOD. The skies truly are bright.

Yours, &c.,

J. B. GRINNELL³³

DISUNIONISTS NORTH AND SOUTH SHAKING HANDS³⁴

Wendell Phillips lectured at Brooklyn, New York, a few days since, proclaiming his disunion sentiments with a zest that show his zeal in a bad cause has not abated. He does not like the recent Speech of Seward, and made it the theme of his pungent satire and moving eloquence. In the course of his speech, he unhesitatingly declared that notwithstanding his profound respect for the statesmanlike abilities of Seward, he would rather see a Democrat elected President, than witness the inauguration of the distinguished New Yorker. Here are his words:

I would like to vote; I would like to add my quota to the civil influence of my country. Directly show me how I can without jeopardizing my self respect, without swearing an oath which you know I would not, and ought not, and do not mean to keep — and I would vote for Wm. H. Seward for the Presidency, tomorrow, and yet I would rather see a Democratic President. I will tell you why. If there is a Republican elected in 1860, you will be waiting to see what law can do — what liberty fettered can do against slavery unbound. Agitation will be lulled. Everything like free and unfettered action will cease. We shall wait. Let Douglas or a Democrat be elected, and every man in the free States will arm himself for a struggle with the slave power. Insurrection will break out on the mountains and insurrection of thought in the pulpits, and we shall have a greater anti-slavery

³³ Josiah B. Grinnell, founder of the town and college named for him, was at this time prominent in the Republican party and a delegate to the Chicago 1860 Convention. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:111; Charles E. Payne, *Josiah Bushnell Grinnell* (Iowa City, 1938).

³⁴ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, Mar. 30, 1860. This editorial expresses the popular Republican stand in 1860 against such "Abolitionists" as Wendell Phillips. To Republicans, the abolitionists of the North were just as much "disunionists" as were the secessionists of the South. By conservatism — recognizing the existence of slavery in the states of the South but opposing its extension into new Territories — the Republicans hoped to stave off Seward's "irrepressible conflict."

progress in four years than we would have in forty under such a programme as that of Mr. Seward's speech of the last month. . . .

The reason given for this preference, is worthy of serious consideration, no less than the preference itself. What is that reason? The election of Seward would give peace to the country and quiet agitation; while the election of a pro-slavery Democrat would give increased strength to the antislavery sentiment of the North, and add bitterness to the strife between the two sections of the Union. Of the truth of this declaration we entertain no doubt. A Republican president will show to the country that the affected apprehensions of the South are unfounded and false; that there is no disposition to disturb the constitutional rights of any section of the Union. While, on the other hand, the inauguration of a slavery-extensionist would be a signal for renewed vigilance against those encroachments by which the Slave power has grasped the power and controlled the policy of the Union to the detriment of free labor and freedom itself.

The disunionists of the North and South, the extentionists of both sections — have at length met and embraced — Toombs and Phillips have fraternized. They equally deprecate the election of a Republican President. The reason that moves them is substantially the same. They are both radical agitators; both impracticables. One would destroy the Union, because it is not perfect; the other lives and retains prominence by exciting needless alarms in the South. — Elect a Republican President, and their vocation is gone.

For the Home Journal.

WHO IS IOWA FOR³⁵

Who do the Republicans of Iowa wish for a candidate for President?

If Col. Fremont should be put in nomination, he would carry the State again by a largely increased majority. There would be poetical justice in re-nominating the man who led so gallantly the new, unformed battalions of the Republican forces, when victory was almost snatched from fate. But Col. Fremont is buried in the mines of California. His chances have been annihilated beneath his ponderous quarts [sic] crushers; and while the memory of him glitters through the hearts of the masses, no cunning politi-

³⁵ Mount Pleasant *Home Journal*, Mar. 31, 1860. This letter was reprinted in the Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, Apr. 7, 1860, and in the Ottumwa *Courier*, Apr. 12, 1860.

cal machinery is being put in motion and operating to bring it out and mould it into golden success. John C. Fremont then being out of the question, we say, unhesitatingly, that WILLIAM H. SEWARD is the first choice of the Republicans of Iowa. He was their first choice in 1856, and had it not been that "availability" and personal admiration ran away with cool judgment and devotion to principles, he would have been put in nomination at Philadelphia. Undoubtedly he, like Fremont, would have been defeated, and probably by a more decided majority.

From the very fact that Mr. Seward has been the first foremost man of the opposition party, for many years — the man on whom all eyes have rested, whenever an opposition president has been spoken of — he has had to encounter this misfortune — that all other aspirants for the position have looked upon him as the obstacle to their success; and they and their friends by busy tongue and active pen, have forever been manufacturing an impression — a sort of vague sentiment, that though SEWARD was just the man for PRESIDENT, yet as a CANDIDATE, he was not available — somebody's uncle's wife's relation would not vote for him because he was an abolitionist — or because he didn't believe in burning Catholics — or New Jersey would not vote for him — or he could not carry Pennsylvania — or, the Silver Grey-Fillmore-Know-Nothing Liquor influence would defeat him in New York.

I would rather risk him in Pennsylvania than their Simon Cameron. He would poll a larger vote in Missouri than Edward Bates, and would run neck-and-neck with Chase and Lincoln in their own States. Say what you will, even the Fire Eaters of the South would have more confidence in having a just, statesman-like and impartial administration, under Seward, than under your Bates, or Botts, or Bell.

The eyes of the South as well as the North are upon him, as our Candidate. They see no one else — They think of no one else for that position. They know that he is the very personification — the "real presence" of the free labor — free thought — free speech — free press — free land and free man spirit of the country.

They know — we all know that he is *the embodiment* of the great American System, whose great Champion was Clay — that Seward's great soul is in the developing of our common country and that instead of prostitution for Legislative, and Judicial, purposes, and employing the power of our Government in preparing new "breeding grounds" for slaves,

he would rather build up our manufacturing and mechanical interests, and thereby every other interest of the country, by suitable protection through a discriminating tariff; would rather push on our internal improvements, river, harbors and railroads — through judicious and constitutional assistance and aid from the General Government — and in fact, as "Ben Wade" would say, would rather "give land to the landless than niggers to the niggerless."

We already know — the whole people know Seward, as well as though he had been eight years our President. Nobody ever thinks of asking "What kind of a President do you think he will make?" Then if Seward is the man we want — if he represents as no other man does or can what we wish — if he will carry what we desire, let us have *him* and no other.

I don't want Iowa to go to Chicago with her fingers in the corner of her mouth, like a bashful country girl! Dont go there as a make weight, to be used by any set of bodies. Dont say Iowa is ready for "any body, good Lord she ain't particular!" We want Seward. Count Iowa eight for WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

HENRY

FORT MADISON CORRESPONDENCE ³⁶

Fort Madison, March 29, 1860

DEAR GATE: "What will he do with it?" was an excellent novel written by Bulwer. — "Who shall be the candidate?" is a splendid work shortly to be issued by the Chicago Convention. All genuine Republicans I find are agreed upon one point: that whoever that candidate may be, they will work and vote for him with hearty good will, regarding him as the exponent of those principles in the triumph of which lies the only hope for the Republic.

First and foremost among those on whom this great honor may fall, we find the name of Seward . . . most truly a renowned and venerated name, bringing great honor to the nation. What a splendid banner he could bear aloft under which to rally his followers to the onset; and with what proud hope would they rush to the contest. . . . Defeat would be glorious under such a leader, but what would not victory be? Few men could bear the searching criticism of a Presidential campaign like Mr. Seward. There is

³⁶ Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Apr. 2, 1860.

not a breath of the lowest whisper against his fair fame as a private citizen, and the utmost malignity of his enemies can find nothing in his public acts to condemn, but are forced to content themselves with mad howlings, well befitting such fellows as they are, against certain phrases they have found in some of his speeches, which, with all their ingenuity of ignorance and malevolence, can be tortured into expressing no meaning not highly honorable to the head and heart of their author. He said "there was a power higher than constitutions," and I know no one, except the Democrat so aptly characterized by the Psalmist, who "saith in his heart" there is not. He says there is an "irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery," and a truism so self-evident seems to have excited wrath only because Mr. Seward should have said it. Years ago, slave-holders said the same, and fire-eaters of the most igneous proclivities have reported it in later times. He says that "sooner or later slavery must and will be abolished," and so say all who "trust in God and take courage." In all the fierce conflicts of the long years he has been in the Senate, he has never lost his self-command for a single moment and has never been tempted to utter even a cutting retort upon those who have so shamefully and so persistently maligned him. From the calm heights of philosophic statesmanship, he has looked down almost like a superior intelligence, and has held his peace only when he opened his mouth to utter words of wisdom and moderation with such force of argument that little giants even could answer only by angry railings. "*Primus inter pares*," or rather, head and shoulders above all his peers, what a tower of strength his great name would carry into the conflict. But if the assembled wisdom of Chicago should judge that Mr. Bates could combine more elements of strength, "the daily beauty of his life" and the stern old Quaker principle which prompted to duty at the expense of interest, years ago, with abilities that have always placed him in the front rank of men would muster Republicans to his support with great alacrity.

But a contingency may occur that shall push forward the tall form of Abraham Lincoln as the Republican leader, and then we should see the western prairies overrun with the fires of an enthusiasm, compared to which the flame of 1840 would be ridiculously tame.

These three names seem now to contain within them all the possibilities of the nomination, and Republicans are waiting with open lips to shout the name of him that shall be leader. . . .

N. T.

PRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMME³⁷

The indications still strongly favor the nomination of Wm. H. Seward, as the Republican candidate for President. If the press of the country reflects the sentiment of the Republican party, the question may be regarded as already settled. An effort will be made to place Mr. Bates on the ticket for Vice-President. His own consent to such arrangement has not yet been obtained. But it is believed that there will be no objection to such a conjunction. The nomination of the latter will be a concession to the conservative portion of the Republican party, and will secure the votes of many men who were not with us in the last Presidential canvass. The earnestness with which Mr. Seward has always contended for protection of American industry, will more than counterbalance the American antipathies to him in Pennsylvania. Cameron and Judge McLean aside, the Pennsylvania delegation will be found in favor of Seward. The partiality of the first named gentleman for the latter, is well known; for he has taken no pains to conceal it. This fact will do much to secure Cameron's nomination, if Seward is deemed unavailable and withdraws. Failing to secure their first choice, the friends of the distinguished New York statesman, will feel it a privilege to place in nomination one who has ever sympathised with them in their admiration for the foremost man of the day.

With Seward and Bates as the Republican nominees for President and Vice-President, we may safely appeal to the moral sense and the national pride of every American citizen for a support as enthusiastic as was ever before rendered to a Presidential ticket. Not a stain rests upon the character of either. — Both command the respect of friend and foe. They have played their part in their respective spheres in such a manner as to gather around them troops of friends. The name of Seward is uttered with respect wherever his country is known and appreciated. His peerless qualities are conceded by his most violent opponents. Place the helm in his hands, and such an administration as the country has not witnessed since the days of Washington, would be secured beyond contingency. . . .

THE PRESIDENCY — JOHN MCLEAN³⁸

Forney's "*Press*" of Philadelphia contains the following item:

Washington, April 6.

³⁷ Des Moines Citizen, Apr. 11, 1860.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Apr. 25, 1860.

Hon. Tom. Corwin has returned to Washington from his electioneering tour in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and reports the Republicans of those States as warmly in favor of Judge McLean for the Presidency. There is no doubt that McLean has many friends and that a strong combination is being made to secure his nomination at Chicago.

In keeping with this statement are rumors that reach us from other sources. A letter from a friend who is temporarily at Washington, will be read with much satisfaction, by the host of Judge McLean's friends in Iowa. Mr. Corwin, of Ohio, has been regarded as a candidate before the Chicago convention. It seems that he is not a candidate, but a zealous advocate of the nomination of Judge McLean. He thinks that no argument can be urged in favor of Gov. Chase's nomination, that does not apply with much greater force in favor of Seward; and that there are many objections to the former, which cannot be brought to bear against the latter. — He thinks, with Horace Greeley, that if the Republicans have strength enough in their own organization, to carry the man of their choice into the Presidential chair, they ought to nominate Seward by acclamation. There being doubts as to the availability and success of that gentleman in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, and Indiana, he thinks that the result should be placed beyond contingency by the nomination of such a man as Judge McLean. Of the orthodoxy of the distinguished jurist, upon the issues before the country, there cannot be a reasonable doubt. He voted with the Republicans at the last Presidential election, and has, on all proper occasions, avowed his approbation of the Republican platform. In the Dred Scott case he gave utterance to his life-long convictions. Ever since he was placed upon the Bench, he has contended for the old-fashioned Republican doctrine, that Slavery is the creature of local law, sectional in its character, and cannot be carried beyond the law that protects it. He maintains the nationality of freedom, and the right and duty of Congress to prevent its introduction into the Territories. He abhors Squatter Sovereignty, and deprecates the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, as a measure fraught with more peril to the country and to the prevalence of freedom, than any other broached during the last twenty years. He has always been a favorite in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois — the States whose votes are regarded as somewhat doubtful in the coming conflict. What is said of his character, by our Washington friend, is so well known to be

true, that no man would dare to question it. An apprehension that infirmities of age would disqualify him for the arduous duties of the Presidency, is the only substantial objection that has been or will be brought against the nomination of the Judge — except, perhaps, we ought to add, that his nomination will create a vacancy on the Supreme Bench, for Mr. Buchanan to fill.

What we know of public sentiment in Iowa, authorizes us to state that if Judge McLean is not the first choice of her ardent Republicans, he is entirely acceptable to all of them, and his nomination would be hailed as a precursor to a brilliant victory. . . .

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE ³⁹

Washington, April 17, 1860

PRESIDENTIAL

Some of the Southern Democracy are getting fearful of the nomination of Douglas, and not a few of his leading opponents in that quarter begin to admit his probable success. I never saw such a partisan spirit as prevails within their ranks. A strong portion of the Southern managers openly declare that they will split the party if he is nominated. And it would really seem as if there would be likely to be a rent whereby three or four Southern States would vote for some other man, which would probably result in throwing the election of President into the House. On the other hand, Douglas's friends are equally determined to nominate him or burst the Convention; and a great many of the most resolute are not very reluctant to say that they do not much care which.

It is interesting, and almost as amusing as it is interesting, to see the rapid change of decided conviction, in high quarters, in both parties, as events hurry on. Many of those with the longest experience, of admitted sagacity, and who have been all along in the most favorable positions for forming opinions, change ground not unfrequently, and next week may be strenuously advocating what this week they consider impolitic or fatal. Of course I have opportunities of noticing this more upon our side than upon the other. And I may state a case. A month ago the general desire among our people was that we should not have Douglas to fight against. I feel very confident, now, that a majority of our Senators desire his nomination.

³⁹ Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Apr. 30, 1860.

And they reason in this way: Seward is weak in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. If Douglas is not nominated, Seward is very likely to be, and we may lose those States, especially if the Democracy take up some tariff man, like Guthrie.⁴⁰ If Douglas is nominated, the chances of the defeat of Seward and the nomination of McLane [sic] or some such man are enhanced, and our success rendered more certain. And the reasoning is specious; perhaps solid; but a majority of the Republican Senators did not reason that way a month ago. It is not the time to disguise any thing now, and I am free to say that the Senators from Connecticut and Rhode Island declare that, with Seward, their hopes are feeble; while those from New Jersey, and the entire Congressional delegation from Pennsylvania, say that there is no hope for us in those States under his flag. The Republican Representatives from all those States fear Guthrie more than Douglas. Among our friends here, the almost overwhelming sentiment at present is in favor of McLane. It is admitted, by almost every body, Democrat and Republican, that in mere strength he is our most powerful man. Most of the Democracy admit that we could probably elect him over any man they can put up; and among the Republicans, there is the utmost confidence that success, at least, is *certain*, with him, against any possible opponent. I say, "success, at least," not because there is any doubt about the soundness of his sentiments, or as to what the character of his administration would be; but because they would generally prefer to defeat their opponents with some one whom the Democracy have had reason to *hate* more than him — some one whose triumph would more deeply gratify their partizan feelings. This is the present state of opinion and speculation. But the events of the next fortnight — of the next week, perhaps — may change the aspect of things; though there are better opportunities now for forming solid opinions than hitherto, as the character of the campaign and the real strength of men grows more apparent. . . .

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE ⁴¹

Chicago, May 8, 1860

I left Washington a week ago to-day (Tuesday). . . . Our own friends

⁴⁰ James Guthrie of Kentucky was put in nomination at Charleston along with Douglas and four other men. The convention deadlocked after 57 ballots, on which Douglas led, and Guthrie was second. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, 2:222.

⁴¹ Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, May 14, 1860. The Democratic convention at Charleston on Apr. 23, 1860, had adjourned without naming a candidate after the

at Washington, at the time I left, under the pressure of the many recent important events [Charleston convention] bearing upon the canvass, were almost unanimously of the opinion that the man for us to nominate in the emergency, was Judge McLean. I have seldom seen party judgment any where or at any time so unanimous. I suppose there were those who thought differently, but for a week previously I had heard not one person declare himself otherwise. I find, too, that the same opinion is quite extensively entertained here, and is evidently increasing. I suppose however, since the confusion and adjournment at Charleston, the friends of other Republican candidates at Washington are more active and confident, and feel that, under existing circumstances, we can afford to risk something for a more decidedly representative man. I should, however, consider it a misfortune if the casualties occurring to our opponents should cause us to forget the value of prudence, or to feel that the circumstances of the time justified us in failing to select the *surest* man, who is sound in the faith, whoever consultation may decide that man to be. We take no advantage of the enemy, if we are careless in proportion to the opportunities that their quarrels and distraction offer us. We are mad, if we throw away one chance at such an important period.

The general opinion at Washington was, that if Mr. McLean was nominated the Republicans were morally certain of success. — There were not many Douglas men, in fact, who felt much confidence in defeating him with their "little giant." Of no body else did they seem afraid, but they did not hesitate to express their fears of him, while the other wing of the Democracy and the South Americans [Southern Know-Nothings] and independents generally conceded that our success with him was scarcely a doubtful matter. Judging from that standpoint, a spectator would be apt to conclude that, if nothing unknown in his antecedents turns up before the meeting of the Chicago Convention to mar his prospects, he would be certain of being the favorite of that body. But a week in these hurrying times, is sufficient to make or mar the prospects of almost any man. Let us hope for the coolest and wisest counsels here, during the coming week.

convention had deadlocked on the vote for a nominee. At Baltimore on June 18, one segment of the Democratic party nominated Douglas; at Richmond, on June 11, John C. Breckinridge was nominated by the Southern Democrats; and in Baltimore on May 9, remnants of Whigs and Know-Nothings established the Constitutional Union party and nominated John Bell of Tennessee. This split in the opposition naturally delighted the Republicans, as it almost insured their success.

The Republicans of Chicago have got their great wigwam nearly ready. It is of capacity sufficient to accommodate 8,000 to 10,000 people, and arrangements are made for a grand good time, which I doubt not they will have. It is intended to give the Eastern people a specimen of western hospitality and enthusiasm, and Eastern Republicans an inkling of the grit and liberality of their Western cousins.

WHO WILL BE NOMINATED?⁴²

Every body is inquiring of his neighbors, who will be the nominee of the Republican Convention, which, while we are uniting, is organizing at Chicago. Of course, different persons give various responses to the question. Each individual occupies a particular stand point, and the political horizon presents to him, to some extent, a peculiar aspect. He makes his own determination from the view presented to his own mind, and concludes that this or that statesman, is the "COMING MAN," and must be universally received as the proper candidate. Some persons deem it especially important that what they style an "available candidate" should be nominated. — They think that it is necessary that the opinions of certain classes of the community should be regarded with delicate tenderness, and that the nominee should, to a certain extent, represent a sentiment to be found only among a small division of the opposition, or in a limited section of the country.

Others think that such special opinions, and territorial interest, should be entirely disregarded. They are in favor of nominating a somewhat ultra republican — one who, perhaps, in some of his policy, would be inclined to go a little in advance of the feeling of the larger portion of the party. They talk of a "representative man" — of one whose life, opinions, and policy are universally known to be intensely republican. Such a one, they are in favor of nominating, and because *they* think such a one in reality stronger than any.

Each of these classes of men adduce numerous reasons, and sound ones too, in support of their apparently opposite conclusions. As is usual, in such cases, to a certain extent, both are right and both are also wrong. For instance, it may easily be admitted that Mr. Bates would be a very strong candidate in Missouri, in Kentucky, in Maryland, Delaware, and in certain

⁴² Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, May 19, 1860.

sections of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania. It may be also admitted that Judge McLean would be a very popular candidate in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, or in parts of these States. Judge Dayton would be strong in New Jersey, Mr. Cameron in Pennsylvania, Mr. Chase or Mr. Wade in Ohio, Mr. Banks in Massachusetts, Mr. Fessenden in Maine, Mr. Lincoln in Illinois, and other gentlemen, probably in other localities. All these statements may be admitted to be true, and the reasonings founded upon them may all be legitimate and correct, and yet the conclusion to which they lead be practically wrong. The error is not in the fact so much as in the absence of *other* facts, which challenge consideration quite as much as those we have hinted at. One gentleman's position may be such, for instance, as would make the support of Pennsylvania as certain as we would desire. But, we must inquire, how would it affect the States of Wisconsin, Michigan, Maine, Ohio, Iowa, and the rest? It is not so difficult to determine who would be the most available candidate in a particular State. The problem for solution is, what Republican statesman will most surely draw around him the votes of the States requisite to ensure his success? There is no idea of nominating any one who is not *known* to be thoroughly republican. But there are contending opinions as to who can best reconcile the elements not strictly republican, but yet so slightly different as to render their ultimate tendency to and union with the republicans, apparent to all.

We, of course, should deem it the height of folly to do anything needlessly, calculated to repel all or any of such elements. All good republicans are anxious to attract every other element to an intimate and complete union with them, so far as they can accomplish such a result without danger to, or compromise of, the great principles upon which Republicanism is founded. — As one means of doing this, they are quite willing to select *out of our own ranks*, such a candidate as they believe will be acceptable, not to republicans merely, but also, to a large class of voters, whose feelings and opinions are already nearly accordant with theirs. As to who that man is, no one can tell until he is possessed of a large mass of information not ordinarily accessible to a single individual. And it is because few men have this knowledge that so great variety of opinion prevails as to the proper nominee.

A Convention is not, perhaps, the best place that could be devised to give a true, practical solution to the problem. But it is the one adopted.

Many of the delegates in the one at Chicago, will act and speak under the influence of local prejudice, personal interests or sympathy, or other improper motives, as in such bodies, some will always do. But with the majority, it can hardly fail to be true that they will feel that the success of the cause is paramount to all other considerations. They will weigh all things cautiously and wisely, and independently of every subordinate motive. We are quite satisfied that there is intelligence, political sagacity, and patriotism enough now at Chicago, to solve the question truly, and to bring out of these diverse opinions, a settled and unanimous conviction of the wisest, and therefore most expedient course. Where all sections, interests and opinions are fully represented, and all placed in their true color, many of the difficulties will disappear, and the rest will be overcome with ease. We have had our private thoughts as to the best policy, as well as our readers. We are quite prepared, however, to believe we are mistaken, if the Convention shall happen, as is quite probable, to come to a different result.

CHICAGO CORRESPONDENCE ⁴³

Chicago, May 11, 1860

Delegates to the Convention are coming in rapidly now. A number from New York arrived last night. Mr. Zane, a Delegate from California, arrived this morning. He is a live Republican, you may be sure. Our own John Johns, of Webster got here this morning, having *walked* from his home in Webster county to Iowa City. He is, therefore, Republican all over. He "feels a little odd," he says, "in this town, which is not very scattering, and needs a *gardeen*." I took great pleasure in piloting the old gentleman around, this morning, for which he returned me hearty thanks, he having never been, as he said, to market but once and to mill but twice, in all his life. He'll do. W. Penn Clarke is also here, whilst among the outsiders from Iowa, I have met John W. Jones, H. M. Hoxie, and Dock Brownell, all of Des Moines. Kasson and McPherson are expected this evening.

The Wigwam now looks like something, both outside and inside. The Eastern side is being adorned with flowers, evergreens, flags, paintings and statuary. On the pillars just in front of the platform, I noticed the busts of Webster, Clay, Judge McLean, and others. Representations of the god-

⁴³ *Ibid.*, May 19, 1860.

desses of Liberty and Justice, besides other goddesses to this deponent unknown, adorn the Eastern wall, whilst big and little figures in plaster may be seen in all portions of the vast building. When entirely completed, the Wigwam will present a grand appearance. A great many ladies are engaged to-day in preparing it for the reception of many people to-morrow night, when, it is announced, Tom Corwin and others will speak. . . .

As to speculations about the Chicago nominee. It appears to be agreed with Mr. Seward has the votes to nominate him on the first ballot, unless the Southern States go unanimously against him, which, however, they will not do. He will get votes from Virginia and Kentucky. His friends, however, will not insist on his nomination, if the doubtful States show that he does not stand a good chance of carrying them. If the mixed up matters in Pennsylvania admit of a solution, in Seward's favor, he will be nominated, I think, on the first ballot. If not, then Gen. Cameron will be put on the track. So things look now.

LINKENSALE ⁴⁴

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION ⁴⁵

To-morrow the Representatives of the National Republican party convene at Chicago to nominate candidates for President and Vice President. The all important crisis is at hand. The moment which is to determine whether success shall perch on the Republican banner has arrived. For four years, in the face of obloquy, of ridicule, of denunciation, with the cry of sectionalism, of radicalism, abolition and disunion rung out against it, and fighting all that time against an Administration entrenched in power and place, with millions of patronage at its command, the Republican party has gallantly fought on, winning victory after victory in State after State, determined in '60 to take control of national affairs and bring the government and the nation once more to that state of peace and prosperity its constitution was intended to secure. Shall it be done? The answer rests with the Chicago Convention and will be heard within the present week.

We anticipate it. The representatives of the great People's Party of the nation cannot, will not, forget the confidence of the millions of freemen for whom they speak. — No such scenes as were witnessed at Charleston

⁴⁴ Lurton D. Ingersool, who wrote under the pen-name "Linkensale," was one of Iowa's brightest and most prolific newspapermen.

⁴⁵ Vinton *Eagle*, May 15, 1860.

will be presented to the country. No scenes of strife and violence. No picture of a party "discordant, dissevered and belligerent." Harmony will characterize its deliberations, and a stern determination to defeat the wretched party in power insure unity in all its actions.

As to the platform there will be no cavil, no disagreement. The principles of the party are the same wherever a Republican can be found to vote the ticket. The nominees may not so easily be determined, but whoever shall receive a majority of the votes in Convention, we are confident will become the unanimous choice of that body. We have our choice and believe Lincoln the strongest man, but whether it be Lincoln, Seward, Wade, M'Lean, Bates, Botts or any body but a Democrat, his name goes to the mast head, and we shall fight for him till the battle is over.

CHICAGO CONVENTION ⁴⁶

Chicago, May 17, 1860.

DEAR GAZETTE: — After a delightful trip by rail, slightly disturbed in its comforts by dust, I arrived here this morning, an *atom* of a great crowd — a circulating medium of human kind in one of ten cars that formed the Chicago and Rock Island *car-ivan* into Chicago. We left Davenport with only three cars, but at every station there was an interesting crowd, and car was added to car till we had a train of ten all filled from platform to platform. At Chicago we were received by a large and enthusiastic delegation of — hackmen, who paid us every attention complimentary to the occasion.

Taking my baggage (an extra shirt) to the Tremont House, I was not only proffered "accommodations" by mine hosts but cordially received in the arms of the Iowa and Missouri delegations. Ever since my arrival I have been *busy*, principally in endeavoring to ascertain the views of delegates, so as to form some opinion of the final result of this Convention. Let me here say that the city is crowded, yet there is still room, thanks to the open doored hospitality of the Chicagoians [*sic*], for a "few more of the same sort" of Republicans — and these are coming. On the arrival of to-morrow morning's train from the west, it may be confidently stated that Iowa is represented here by about a thousand Republicans. Among them I have met Gov. Kirkwood, W. P. Clarke, Kasson, Nourse, Grinnell *et al.*

⁴⁶ Davenport *Gazette*, May 24, 1860.

Lt. Gov. Rusch arrived here from New York this afternoon, under charge of a portion of the Pennsylvania delegation. About an hour afterward he was making a speech before a German meeting, maintaining conservative views in opposition to the ultraism of a few, or in plain words, endeavoring to prevent them making fools of themselves. This German meeting was adjourned from yesterday, and was not very largely attended. Resolutions declaring very emphatically against certain nominations were laid over for consideration tomorrow.⁴⁷

The result of my investigations may be thus stated. The question of who will be the nominee is almost as much mixed as it was two weeks or months ago. The friends of different prominent candidates have been here in strength for several days. Their labors have resulted in somewhat envenomed feelings. But the fact is worthy of notice — that the Bates, the Lincoln, the Cameron men, &c., in their hostility to each other, say freely that if the crisis come and their candidate is out, they will vote for Seward in preference to either of the others.⁴⁸ Seward promises to poll the largest ballot at the start, and the Bates men think he will be next. A tremendous effort is being made for Bates. His friends promise Missouri for him sure if he be nominated. Indeed, a friend who owns part of the pile, says that there are now \$10,000 in the Tremont House ready to be staked on this. — The Missouri delegation have fine quarters, and number a multitude in themselves. If there be one of them from Frank Blair down (in size) to B. Gratz Brown, to whom I have not been introduced, I should like to know his name and fame.

Our Iowa delegation are divided, and they very probably intend to be so the first few balloting. A vote of delegates assembled to-day showed that of those present the majority, or plurality, were for Lincoln!⁴⁹ Bates has two and Cameron one. If the vote ever become a unit, I think it will be

⁴⁷ This meeting at Chicago was important. Germans would support Seward, but preferred Lincoln. Their resolutions indicated strong opposition to Bates, thus seriously hampering him as second choice, if Seward failed. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 1:161-3; F. I. Herriott, "The Conference in the Deutsches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860," *Transactions*, Ill. State Hist. Soc. (1928), 101-191.

⁴⁸ This was not true of the Cameron men. Against Lincoln's instructions, David Davis of Illinois had promised a Cabinet post to Cameron, if Pennsylvania would swing her votes to Lincoln. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 1:169.

⁴⁹ This would seem to indicate that the partiality of Iowa editors for Seward did not influence the Iowa delegates to the Convention.

for Lincoln, unless his chances suddenly subside. — The Indiana delegates seem to be gradually going over to Lincoln. I conversed with Col. Lane this evening, opposition or Republican candidate for Governor in Indiana. He feels secure of his election in that Democratic State if either McLean, Lincoln or Bates be nominated. That shows the feeling here. The Bates men appear more hostile to Lincoln than to any other man.

Among other duties of the evening, I visited the great Wigwam. Mr. Burlingame was speaking. There were *thousands* gathered, including a great many ladies. The "Wigwam" is a huge frame edifice in the central part of the city. The inside spectacle, with its gathered thousands, hundreds of gas lights, banners, streamers, busts, statues, &c., was splendid. A large gallery surrounds three sides, the acres of floor beneath being gradually elevated from the centre so as to afford a good view of the speaker. All the seats were filled, and hundreds standing. In front of the gallery are painted the coats of arms of all the States. Banners and streamers, paintings and statues, wreaths and bouquets, adorned every part. But you have already heard enough of the Wigwam. Returning, I pitched into a tremendous German Republican meeting, where they had music, singing and speaking, and an immense deal of enthusiasm.

The delegates are now about all here, and everything is ready for work. I think the Convention will close its labors Friday night, and in the mean time I'll close mine.

ADD. ⁵⁰

DEAR GAZETTE: — Surrounded by such a whirl of excitement as has marked Chicago to-day, and now, at a late hour of night manifest at the Tremont House by the voices and presence of hundreds, crowding every part of the building, with music and cheers in the distance, and music and cheers close at hand — it is almost impossible to systematize one's thoughts, or reduce them to any methodical form for transmission on paper to others. The history of the day, the first of the Convention, has been in that body merely such as belongs to *organizing*, all the details of which you will find in the Chicago papers of to-morrow morning, and the generalities in the dispatches doubtless now in type in the GAZETTE office. — Briefly — the great wigwam was densely packed before noon, the hour of meeting. The delegates sat on a raised platform, each delegation having its particular

⁵⁰ Addison H. Sanders, editor of the Davenport *Gazette*. See note 13.

place marked by a lettered sign-board. The editors, numbering hundreds, with a great many bogus members of the fraternity, who "roped in" on the Committee and secured passes, occupying the floor beneath, and generally securing seats. Beyond certain limits were the multitude, the floor raising step by step, so that those near the walls could overlook the insiders or centrals. The galleries, holding thousands were crowded, many of the occupants being ladies. Such a spectacle was never before seen *under roof* in this Union. One view of it was alone worth a trip of five hundred miles. Such a sea of human faces certainly never before met my gaze. The immense size of the hall, and its densely packed condition, rendered it difficult to hear the voices or words of speakers, except when propelled by brazen lungs. The Hon. David Wilmot, the temporary chairman, was for this reason not the man for the place. His voice, like his person, is a little *fatty*. But otherwise he was admirably qualified for the position. The announcement of his name for the position, totally unexpected even to many of the delegates, was received with tremendous and prolonged applause, exhibiting an appreciation of the "Wilmot Proviso" not to be mistaken.

In the afternoon session, the proper committee announced the name of Hon. George Ashmun, of Mass., as President. Of course it was received with tremendous applause, the vast crowd being so filled with enthusiasm, that on every reasonable occasion they gave vent to it in a most extraordinary concourse of sounds, in the form of cheers, clapping of hands and stamping. Mr. A. made an eloquent little speech, in which he convinced the Convention that he had all the voice to be expected from a pair of human lungs. He afterwards proved himself most admirably qualified for the position, and that a better selection could not have been made.

On the various committees appointed during the day, Iowa was thus represented — on Permanent Organization, Jas. T. Wilson; on Credentials, C. F. Clarkson; on Business, Reuben Noble; on Platform, J. A. Kasson; Andrew J. Stevens was one of the Temporary Vice Presidents, and H. P. Scholte, one of the Permanent Vice Presidents; Mr. M. Stone, one of the Secretaries. The preliminary business proceedings were marked by great interest, harmony and good feeling. — During the afternoon session, Mr. N. B. Judd, in behalf of the Republicans of Chicago, presented an elegant gavel to the President, with a very appropriate speech. The Convention adjourned till to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

There were probably ten thousand people in the wigwam, and many estimated the number far above this, yet a tremendous crowd surrounded the building, the streets of the city were at places almost unnavigable from the number of people, and the hotels swarming. The Pennsylvanians had a procession in the afternoon, and were about three squares long marching generally four abreast, and close together. They stopped at the Tremont for the Illinois delegation, which numbered hundreds. This may give readers at home some faint idea of the numbers gathered here — and but a very faint idea indeed. Every hotel is packed, and a multitude of private houses have been thrown open. The hospitality of the people of Chicago is the subject of general praise. Yesterday a large excursion party, in response to the invitation of the Board of Trade, took a sail on the lake, and had a happy time. The hacks are doing an active business in riding strangers over the city. Chicago was never better advertised, and indeed it never looked better to the eyes of visitors. The weather is delightful, which of course is the grand publisher of outside things here as elsewhere. Some individual is speaking in the parlor, and cheers are enthusiastic. I shall leave you here and join the crowd. I have a thousand things to tell about, but cannot speak of them now.

ADD.

THIRD DAY — MORNING SESSION⁵¹

. . . The motion to ballot, made by Mr. Goodrich, of Minnesota, at the afternoon session of yesterday was taken up.

Mr. Blair, of Maryland, presented additional credentials of Delegates to fill up the Delegation from that State.

Mr. Chandler, of Texas, wished to know if that would have the tendency to increase the ratio of votes in that State.

Mr. Coale, of Maryland, said that they came with a full Delegation elected, but upon arriving here, only 11 were present. The Delegation held a meeting and filled the vacancies.

⁵¹ Des Moines *Iowa State Register*, May 23, 1860. The Convention convened on May 16, at noon. The first day was spent in organization; the second in the adoption of the platform. Nominations did not come until the third day. A move was made to ballot for a candidate at the close of the second day's session, when sentiment seemed to be running strong for Seward. However, perhaps fortuitously, the tally-sheets were not ready, and the convention was forced to adjourn. This quoted section of the report of the Convention is part of the report of the proceedings as published in many Iowa papers.

The Chair understood that the vote would be the same, 16 Delegates, casting 8 votes.

Mr. Armour, of Maryland, objected to the credentials being received. A portion of the Delegates from that State met here and filled up the vacancies with people who came from where? God Almighty knows. His co-Delegates had filled them up with outsiders.

The question was put whether Maryland should have five additional votes, and it was lost.

The Convention then decided to proceed to ballot.

Mr. Evarts, of New York, asked whether it was in order to present names for nomination. The Chair decided it was in order without debate.

At this point the Pennsylvania Delegation complained that outsiders were occupying their seats, and some time was expended in getting them out.

Loud cries of "call the roll," "call the roll."

Mr. Evarts of New York — "Mr. Chairman, in the order of business before the Convention, sir, I take leave to name as a candidate to be nominated by this Convention for the office of President of the United States, William H. Seward of New York."

Hon. N. B. Judd, of Illinois, named Hon. Abraham Lincoln.

New Jersey presented Hon. William L. Dayton.

Pennsylvania named Hon. Simon Cameron.

Mr. Carter, of Ohio, named Hon. Salmon P. Chase.

Mr. Smith, of Indiana, in behalf of the delegation, seconded the name of Abraham Lincoln.⁵²

Michigan seconded the nomination of William H. Seward, of New York.

Mr. Corwin named John McLean, of Ohio.

Hon. Carl Schurz, of Wisconsin, seconded the name of William H. Seward.

Kansas seconded the name of William H. Seward.

Mr. North, of Minnesota, seconded the name of William H. Seward.

Ohio seconded the nomination of Abraham Lincoln.

⁵² Caleb Smith of Indiana had also been promised a Cabinet post, in return for the support of his state. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 1:169. In fact, five of Lincoln's opponents in the Convention became Cabinet members, not all by Convention promises, however. Seward served under both Lincoln and Johnson as Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase was Secretary of the Treasury for four years; Simon Cameron, for one disastrous year, was Secretary of War; Caleb B. Smith, for two years, Secretary of the Interior; and Edward Bates, for two years Attorney General.

The names of each of the candidates were received with applause.

The names of Seward and Lincoln were greeted with deafening plaudits, and despite the raps of the Speaker and the calls of the delegates, it seemed almost impossible to quell the uproar.⁵³

At length, the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, the cries and cheers were silenced and the audience became gradually seated and awaited in comparative silence the balloting.

The Convention proceeded to ballot for a candidate for President, with the following results:

[On the first ballot, Seward received $173\frac{1}{2}$ votes; Lincoln, 102; Cameron $50\frac{1}{2}$ ($47\frac{1}{2}$ from Pennsylvania); Bates, 48; Chase, 29; Dayton, 14; and McLean, 12; the rest were scattered among favorite sons. Iowa voted as follows on the first ballot: Seward, 2; Bates, Cameron, Chase, and McLean, 1 each; and Lincoln, 2. On the second ballot, Lincoln's vote climbed to 181, while Seward's rose only to $184\frac{1}{2}$. Lincoln's largest block of votes came from Pennsylvania, 44, thus showing which way the voting was going. Iowa's two votes for Seward stayed by him, but Chase and McLean received only $\frac{1}{2}$ vote each, while the remaining 5 went to Lincoln. On the third ballot, Seward dropped to 181 and Lincoln rose to $231\frac{1}{2}$; 233 were necessary for nomination. Iowa's 2 votes for Seward remained, while $\frac{1}{2}$ was cast for Chase, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ for Lincoln on this ballot.]

Before the vote was announced, Mr. Carter, of Ohio, said: I rise, sir, by the instruction of a portion of the Ohio delegation to change four votes from Mr. Chase to Mr. Lincoln.

This change gave Mr. Lincoln a majority, and was greeted with an enthusiasm most unbounded. The applause and demonstrations were continued for some twenty minutes, and the result having been made known outside, the inside and outside of the building answered each other with immense cheers.

Delegates from Maine, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Missouri, changed the votes of those states to Lincoln. The vote finally, after all the changes had been made, stood as follows:

⁵³ According to reporters, although the applause for Seward was enthusiastic, that for Lincoln was deafening. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 1:165. Part of the reason for the wild cheers for Lincoln may have been that the same David Davis who had made the deal with Cameron, had had 1,000 counterfeit convention tickets printed and issued to men hired to shout for Lincoln. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, 2:256.

[110½ for Seward; 354 for Lincoln; 1 for Dayton. Iowa swung her 8 votes into the Lincoln column before the final count.]

FROM CHICAGO — LINCOLN'S NOMINATION⁵⁴

Chicago, May 19, 1860

. . . When David K. Carter arose in the Convention yesterday and announced that Ohio desired to change four votes from Salmon P. Chase to Abraham Lincoln, enthusiasm knew no bounds. The ladies in the galleries arose to their feet and cheered with might and main, whilst ten thousand men within the wigwam and twenty thousand without, rent the air with their loud huzzas. So it continued twenty minutes by the clock, when, as order was about to be restored, "bang went" a cannon, and again commenced the cheering. I was sitting immediately next to the President's desk, and could see and hear all.

Conspicuous among the excited Conventionists was HENRY S. LANE, of Indiana. Standing next to the railing of the platform, his tall, limber form bowed backward and forward, as shout after shout escaped his lips. . . . He was intoxicated with pleasure. I suppose Col. Lane is the ugliest man in Indiana. His head is about the size of your fist, and is covered with iron gray hair — his eyes are deep and sunken, and his mouth is a vast receptacle for food and tobacco. When he speaks he often bends his body so that portion above the hips makes a perfect right angle with his long, slim legs, and anon he throws his head back so far as to have the upper portion of his person at an angle of about 45 degrees to the court. His voice is not strong, but he is one of the most popular and gifted orators of the West. The nomination of Lincoln has secured his election as Governor of Indiana beyond a doubt.

That other tall gentleman, with the bald head a little to the eastward of Lane, and who is waving his hat and shouting so earnestly is CALEB B. SMITH, of Indiana — "Kale Smith," as he is familiarly called all over that State. He has more dignity in his looks than has Lane — he is larger, and, of course, far more fine-looking, appearing to be a little rising of fifty years of age. His voice is not deep-toned and heavy but shrill, musical and clear, like the higher notes of a bugle. When he becomes fully aroused, he can be heard distinctly in every part of the great Wigwam. When he

⁵⁴ Burlington *Hawk-Eye*, May 26, 1860.

said to-day in his loudest tones: "In leaving this fair State, and this large and enthusiastic assembly, I shall leave it with an abiding confidence that our ticket will be triumphantly elected; for let me assure you that, with the gallant son of Illinois as our standard bearer; with the platform which we have adopted; with the distinguished Senator from Maine as the second in command, I feel that we stand upon a rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against us!" the cheers which followed were almost deafening. Mr. Smith lisps a good deal, but just enough to make it agreeable. When he becomes fully aroused, the lisp passes away, but it is amusing enough to hear him say "Mithter Prethident" or "Fellow Thitithens."

But, perhaps, the most excited man in the Convention was Mr. BROWNING, of Illinois. Burlingtonians have heard him speak, and know that he is a splendid orator; but when he was called up yesterday, he was so much overcome that, at first, he could scarcely say a word. When he fairly got to going, however, he said some very fine things, returning the thanks of Illinois for the magnanimity and generosity of New York in a beautiful and touching manner; the peculiar way in which he works his mouth in no wise detracting from the general effect.

And, by-the-by, the chairman of the New York delegation, WILLIAM M. EVARTS, is a splendid man, when you consider him intellectually. — Physically, he does not amount to much, being rather small of stature; and of no very prepossessing appearance. Nevertheless, you can see that he is a man of decision, nerve, and backbone. He is an excellent speaker, having a good voice and graceful manner, with not a bit of the immortal spread eagle in his manner. When he moved to make the nomination of Mr. Lincoln unanimous . . . [his] plain, heartfelt utterances, brief though they were, received as hearty applause as any made during the whole of Convention week. Mr. Evarts won for himself the warm regards and admiration of all who noticed his dignified demeanor and the proud intellect of which he is the possessor.

The motion was also seconded by a rather good looking little fat gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. ANDREWS, who made a good but too lengthy speech on the occasion.

It was seconded also by Mr. CARL SCHURZ, who stood up for Seward till the last moment. I look upon this gentleman as one of the most intellectual, philosophical and eloquent orators of the country. In person, he is of

medium size, with scarcely anything but the fire of his eye blazing through his steel-bound spectacles to indicate an extraordinary man. . . .

Other good and true speeches were made by the friends of Mr. Seward, but I cannot take time to allude to them particularly.

All this time, there sat, just to my right, the white-haired, small-eyed, breeches-rolled-up Philosopher of the *Tribune* [Horace Greeley], calm as a placid lake on which no zephyr blows, and, beyond all peradventure cool as a cucumber. With his head on his cane, he was ruminating, doubtless, on the transitoriness of all things in general, and the downfall of his hopes of Bates in particular, surmising, perhaps, as he nodded acquiescence to the remarks of Mr. Andrews — "Now give us Hickman or Hamlin for Vice President, and we'll sweep the country."

But the incidents connected with the nomination of Hamlin require a more extended notice than I could now give, and I will here close for the present, with the remark that the Convention adjourned till 5 o'clock, having first made the welkin ring again, with three times three for "Honest Old Abe," and a rousing "tiger" to boot.

When I reached the Tremont House, a cannon on top was firing a hundred guns in honor of the nomination.

LINKENSALE

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES ⁵⁵

We are under ten thousand obligations to the National Republican Convention for the patriotism and sagacity manifested in the selection of the standard bearers of the Republican hosts in the coming contest. On the one hand the Convention avoided the settled and prevalent prejudices which had accumulated in the public mind against a long-tried leader of the party, and on the other escaped the peril of elevating to the leadership one who is not sufficiently identified with the struggles and prospects of the party to command universal acceptance as its chief. Ability, honesty and devotion to the cause have been found in the person of one whose talents and whose efforts in behalf of its principles have secured him a proud pre-eminence in the great Northwest, and the universal respect and confidence

⁵⁵ Keokuk *Des Moines Valley Whig*, May 21, 1860. This and the following editorials are typical of the way the editors adjusted themselves to the nomination of Lincoln, although the majority seemed to have preferred Seward before the Convention.

of the party throughout the country, while at the same time he has excited no personal prejudices among the masses outside the ranks of his own party.

The recent brilliant contest carried on by Abraham Lincoln against Stephen A. Douglas in Illinois, excited the wondering admiration of the whole land and aroused the Republicans of the West to overwhelming enthusiasm in his favor. The great and growing Northwest will appreciate this mark of honor bestowed upon their favorite, and in view of the opportunity of elevating a Republican of the Northwest to the Presidency and thus securing a prominence to which its importance entitles it, will strain every nerve to roll up a proud majority for Lincoln. His noblest eulogy is to be found in a reputation so transcendently bright as to secure him the nomination from such a Convention as that assembled at Chicago against so many illustrious competitors. . . .

We of the west have received all we asked, and more than most of us expected, in the selection of candidates, and now let us do all and more than our brethren of other sections expect of us in behalf of our candidates, and thus render success certain beyond a possibility of failure.

REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS⁵⁶

. . . To the Great West has been given the great honor of the nominee for the first position in our Nation, and the Great West will give to that Union her Abraham Lincoln as the next President, and the Union will be proud of the gift.

We are grateful to the East for her concession to the West — to the Empire State for her giant in Statesmanship, Wm. H. Seward — to the Keystone State with her host in Simon Cameron — to Ohio with her three distinguished sons, McLean, Chase and Wade.

The Empire of the West has a right to the Presidency, and Abraham Lincoln, whose integrity has won him the sobriquet of "HONEST OLD ABE" is her true Representative Man. He is the man for victory, and when the victory is won, his is the integrity and ability to bring back the Government to the policy of its founders, and guide the ship of State by a compass that points not one way at the South and another way at the North.

Last year [*sic*. 1858] coming from the practice of his profession into the political field he met the Little Giant of Democracy [Stephen A Douglas],

⁵⁶ Des Moines *Weekly Citizen*, May 23, 1860.

who was supported with the prestige and power as an office holder of nearly a score of years, with his combinations of politicians formed and strengthened through all those years, and overthrew him by a majority of over four thousand votes of the citizens of Illinois.⁵⁷ — His speeches in that memorable canvass were read all over the Union and won the recognition of his Statesmanlike abilities as well as his power as an orator.⁵⁸ Let the disjointed Charleston Conventiton send Douglas into the field from its Baltimore rendezous [sic] and Illinois will again repudiate his double faced doctrine of Popular Sovereignty and by twice four thousand votes. Coming from the ranks of the old Whig party he represents the conservative opinions of that party upon the question of Slavery in the Territories.

Well has the Chicago Convention done its duty. In what honorable contrast does its conduct and its labors stand to that of the Charleston Convention, where disorder prevailed, disunion was threatened and suicide only accomplished. . . .

OUR TICKET⁵⁹

It is with no ordinary feelings of satisfaction that we this week nail to our mast head the names of LINCOLN and HAMLIN, as the national standard bearers of the great Republican party. The largest, most enthusiastic and most harmonious Convention ever held in this country, have presented to the people a platform and representative men, every way worthy of the age and its wants. The platform, which we hope will be read attentively, has the ring of the genuine metal. Every thing is said that should be said, and every thing left unsaid that should not be said.

Of Mr. LINCOLN what need we say to the people of the West? He is one

⁵⁷ Actually, Douglas was elected by the Illinois legislature, getting 54 votes to Lincoln's 46. The "vote of the people" was for the legislature, and although the Republican members represented more population than did the Democratic, because of an out-of-date apportionment law, the Democrats had the most votes. Therefore, this editor could hardly say that Lincoln had "overthrown" Douglas. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 1:120; Arthur Charles Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870* (Vol. 3, Centennial History of Illinois, Springfield, 1919), 179.

⁵⁸ The editor is again exaggerating. For instance, the Iowa newspapers in 1858 paid little attention to the Lincoln-Douglas debates. See "A Burlington Editor Comments on the Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 56:275-80 (July, 1958). During the pre-convention jockeying of 1860 reprints of the famous debates were prepared and widely circulated.

⁵⁹ Mount Pleasant *Home Journal*, May 26, 1860.

of them, known and honored by all. Honest, able and patriotic — reared in the west, amidst its privations, he is a walking argument in favor of free labor and free institutions; and is destined to be the people's President, so sure as election day comes.

WHY WAS LINCOLN NOMINATED?⁶⁰

This, just now, is a question of momentous importance with our Democratic friends. Their heads are exceedingly bothered to account for the rejection of SEWARD by the Chicago Convention. Poor fellows! But their own honest reflections and fears, unerringly reveal to them the secret of LINCOLN'S nomination. To relieve them, however, of all doubts upon the question, we will respond to their query. LINCOLN was nominated because the Republican party cares infinitely more for the substance than for the symbol. To put itself in a position to carry out its principles was the primal and overshadowing object of the Convention. The entire party were ready to take Mr. SEWARD'S measures without Mr. SEWARD, regarding the peculiarities of his position as rendering him an unavailable candidate, in certain portions of the Union, where we have most need of votes. The Republicans were not disposed to weaken their chances of *success*, by any such extravagant devotion to a particular leader, as that manifested at Charleston for Mr. DOUGLAS. Resolved upon a single purpose, the Convention very wisely determined that the claims of no man — however eminent his services — however intrinsically great his abilities — should be allowed to endanger the dearest wish of the popular heart of the nation. Sacrificing individual preferences, and recognizing in ABRAHAM LINCOLN, a statesman of distinguished abilities, and a man of renowned honor, probity and integrity, and possessing the entire confidence of the friends of right and freedom, with remarkable unanimity, the Convention placed him before the people of the United States for their suffrages for the Chief Magistracy of the nation. Does any other than a subsidized partizan, or a confirmed bigot, believe that he will not be elected to that position?

THE DECISION OF THE CHICAGO CONVENTION⁶¹

In an editorial published before the meeting of the Chicago Convention, we said that practically its deliberations would be on the question — who is the strongest man the Republicans can run for the Presidency? — and

⁶⁰ Council Bluffs *Weekly Nonpareil*, May 26, 1860.

the result, the Convention's decision as to the name of this strongest man. It was known before the Convention, and acceded there on all sides, that if no reasonable doubts existed as to the election of Mr. Seward, he was the choice of the great majority of the Republicans of the Union. But it was at the same time the earnest feeling of the majority of the delegates, that if any other man was likely to be stronger before the people than Mr. Seward, or stronger than other good Republicans whose names were mentioned in connection with the nomination — if he could carry or promise to carry certain States that others might not do but by rare possibility — then this man must be nominated.

At an early hour after the delegates had gathered, the name of ABRAHAM LINCOLN loomed up in prominence as this person — as the *strongest* man the Convention could nominate. His abilities were unquestioned — his honesty and integrity proverbial — his true and earnest Republicanism undisputed, and yet his conservatism generally acceded even by his opponents. The delegates from the doubtful States, or many of them, boldly declared that with Lincoln their States could be carried, but *not* with Seward, and more and more delegates joined their ranks. The Pennsylvanians promised a rousing majority for Lincoln. The Illinois delegates were of course enthusiastic for "Old Abe." The majority of the Indiana delegation declared that with Lincoln they would sweep the State. Col. Lane, the Republican candidate for Governor in that State, personally a warm friend of Seward, said that with Lincoln he felt *sure* of election, but the nomination of Seward would cut his (Lane's) throat, and give Indiana once again to the Democracy. So it went.

The decision of the Convention came, and as we said week before last, it was a decision upon the question of the *strongest* man, placing all the candidates for nomination on an equality as regards devotion to Republican principles and as true representatives of the Republican party, and alike entitled to the full confidence of that party. The enthusiasm with which the news of Mr. Lincoln's nomination has been received all over the Union, even in New York, the home of Mr. Seward, proves that his strength was not mis-calculated nor over-estimated. No one can doubt this enthusiasm among the Republicans for "Old Abe," and no one can question the result will be his triumphant election.

⁶¹ Davenport *Weekly Gazette*, May 24, 1860.

The Republican party is now *an unit*. Whatever divisions there may have been before the nomination as to the candidate, the nomination itself was the signal for general unity and good-fellowship among all Republicans. Such there will be till the day of election, and till the closing of the polls at night — when shouts of triumph and rejoicing will ring over the Union proclaiming the people's verdict in favor of Republican principles, and their condemnation of the corruption, venality and mal-administration of the so called Democratic party.

THE POPULAR VERDICT⁶²

The journeyings of the past fortnight have given us an excellent opportunity of judging how the Chicago nominations are received by the people. To say that the Republicans were all at first well pleased with the nomination for the Presidency — that there was no feeling of disappointment among the great host who watched with profound solicitude the action of the Chicago Convention — would be a worse than idle declaration. Truth demands of us an acknowledgment that Gov. Seward has a hold upon the affections of the great mass of the Republican party, only equalled by the attachment felt among old Whigs for Henry Clay, during the life-time of the latter. The New York statesman stood in the breach and fought the battles of Republicanism in the Senate Chamber, when he was almost alone. He was insulted and vilified by the pro-slavery men of the South, and stigmatised as an Abolitionist by the dirt-eaters of the North. Upon his own shield he received the shafts of the multitude who were eager to betray the cause of human freedom. He returned blow for blow; sounded aloud the warning blast; by the force of his own masterly intellect and steadfast purpose, rallied around the Republican standard a band of men who have never faltered in their devotion to a cause that they felt to be identified with the perpetuity of American liberty. He has seen malice measurably disarmed, and justice done to his motives. He has been permitted to witness the dawn of a brighter day upon the hopes of his patriotic co-workers. He sees and feels that Heaven's retributive justice has overtaken and scattered a great party that allowed itself to be arrayed in hostility to the policy of the Republican fathers. With the victor's wreath almost within his reach, he felt that he might without undue assurance, ask

⁶² Des Moines *Weekly Citizen*, June 6, 1860.

his friends to remember his services in this the day of their power. They recognized his claims. They acknowledged his labors. Their hearts kindled with a genial glow, as they called to mind his patriotic appeals. But they feared that there was yet too much of embittered prejudice and passion among the inconsiderate, to make it safe to designate him as our standard-bearer. They frankly declared their doubts and fears, made their appeal to the delegates assembled, and the result was the nomination of Abraham Lincoln.

With tears in their eyes the devoted friends of Seward saw assigned to another, a position that they regarded as due to their favorite. But there was no hesitation in their tone or action. They had received too many lessons from their gallant and unselfish leader, to stand in the way of a harmonious solution of the problem presented to the Chicago Convention. They recognized the distinguished citizen of Illinois as a faithful and eloquent laborer in the Republican fold; a man who had virtually beaten Douglas, with fearful odds in favor of the latter. Upon every question that now divides the parties of the country, they know that Abraham Lincoln is sound to the core, and will never betray those who have conferred upon him an unsought honor. Feeling and believing thus, the friends of Seward, and of every other Republican statesman, have nobly laid upon the altar of their country all personal predilections, and with loud acclaim rallied to the side of "Old Abe."

The Germans hesitated about supporting Bates. The more zealous feared the conservatism of McLean, and doubted his ability to bear the burthen of a Presidential canvass. Chase is obnoxious to every prejudice enlisted against Seward. Banks has been too strongly suspected of American proclivities. Thus the Convention was finally brought to realize that Lincoln is the only man who is sure of enlisting the combined energies of the Republican masses against the faces of the Administration.

With a zeal eminently creditable to their patriotism, the Republican of every section have already commenced the work of the campaign. They are no longer Seward men, Chase men or Banks men. They are co-workers in a common cause, sanctified by the trials and labors of revolutionary patriots. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois, all fall into the line, with a shout that tells of coming victory. Seward nobly gives his adhesion to Lincoln. The last cloud is dispelled; and the Republican army is seen in full march for the National Capitol.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society has added 163 new members during April, May, and June, 1960. The following were elected Life Members during that period: Earl L. Brewster, Sheldon; Wilbur F. Cannon, Davenport; Ben Comenitz, Davenport; Mrs. Harold Ellis, Cedar Falls; Dr. Thomas Fultz, Pella; Mrs. Edward L. Garner, Jr., Des Moines; Mrs. D. S. Humeston, Albia; Clarence Johnston, Ottumwa; Dr. W. B. Keel, Bettendorf; Miss Aline Ketelsen, Davenport; Miss Edna Lane, Ottumwa; and Willis F. Lathrop, Bettendorf.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

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| April 3-4 | Conference with Russell Fridley, Director of the Minnesota Historical Society, to arrange program for American Association for State and Local History convention to be held in Iowa City on August 31, September 1, 2, 3. |
| April 6 | Meeting with officers of the Women's Relief Corps at Centennial Building. |
| April 19 | Trip to Des Moines to confer with state officials. |
| April 21 | Speech before Daughters of the American Revolution at Dubuque. |
| April 22 | Trip to Maquoketa to discuss the possible acquisition of records from old Jackson County Court House. |
| April 25 | Trip to Maquoketa to gather old Jackson County Court House records for the Society Library. |
| April 27 | Conference with Mr. John Kawamoto and Evan A. Haynes, of the National Park Service, Omaha, Nebr., relative to nationwide studies of parks. |
| May 5-6 | Trip to St. Louis to attend Third National Assembly of Civil War Centennial Commission. |
| May 7-8 | Addressed Illinois State Historical Society annual meeting in Rock Island, Illinois. |
| May 12 | Trip to Arnolds Park and Lake Okoboji to work on Gardner Cabin. |

- May 12 Spoke to delegations of school children from Aurelia, Bancroft, Blue Earth, and Paullina on the Spirit Lake Massacre.
- May 13 Spoke to delegations of school children from Cylinder, Dunnell, Minn., Greenfield-Rossi, and Ruthven on the Spirit Lake Massacre.
- May 13 Addressed newly-formed Clay County Parker Historical Society at Spencer.
- May 15 Addressed newly-formed Kossuth County Historical Society at Algona.
- May 19 Speech before Sully-Lynnville High School honors group at fourth annual meeting.
- May 20 Attended meeting of Iowa Society for the Preservation of Historical Sites in Des Moines.
- May 26 Commencement speech at Lone Tree, Iowa.
- June 10 Trip to Des Moines to consult with state officials.
- June 23 Spoke to Calhoun County Historical Society at Rockwell City
- June 25-26 Conducted thirteenth annual Mississippi steamboat cruises on *Addie May* between Keokuk and Nauvoo.
- June 27 Meeting of the Iowa State Section of the Mississippi River Parkway Commission at Muscatine.

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"Business and Agricultural Conditions in Kansas, 1871-1888: As Reported by a New England Mortgage Broker," by Glenn H. Miller, Jr., *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Spring, 1960.

Cass, Lewis

"The Scholarship of Lewis Cass," by Walteer W. Stevens, *Michigan Historical*, March, 1960.

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Irrigation

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DR. MILDRED THRONE

(1902-1960)

Members of the State Historical Society will read with regret of the passing of Dr. Mildred Throne, for the past twelve years Associate Editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa. Born in Ottumwa, Iowa, on October 30, 1902, Dr. Throne was the only daughter of Harry E. and Alice Emery Throne. Her girlhood was spent in Ottumwa.

From an early age Mildred evinced an interest in American history. She graduated from Hyde Park high school in Chicago and received her Ph. B. from the University of Chicago in 1934.

For a decade following her graduation Miss Throne was identified with McDonald-Miller, Inc., in Chicago. In 1942, however, she tired of the business world and returned to history, receiving her M.A. at the University of Iowa under Professor Louis Pelzer in 1943. It was under this outstanding scholar that Miss Throne gained much of her editorial skill. From 1943 to 1946, while a graduate assistant at the University of Iowa, she helped Professor Pelzer in editing the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. At the same time she served as proctor at Currier Hall while working toward her Ph.D. She received her Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Iowa in 1946.

Dr. Throne taught history at Washburn College, Topeka, Kansas, for two years. Upon the retirement of Dr. Ruth Gallaher in 1948, she was invited by Dr. Petersen to join the staff of the State Historical Society of Iowa as Associate Editor of the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY.

During her twelve years with the Society Dr. Throne contributed five issues to *The Palimpsest* and ten articles to the IOWA JOURNAL, in addition to editing fifteen diaries for the quarterly magazine. Two-thirds of the latter were Civil War diaries. She contributed book reviews to scholarly publications and articles on Iowa to encyclopedias. A full-length biography of Governor C. C. Carpenter, chapters of which have appeared in the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY, will be published by the Society at a later date.

Dr. Throne continued to read galley proof on the *July Quarterly* during the early stages of her hospitalization. As her condition grew progressively worse she was unable to continue her work and she died on July 7, 1960.

Funeral services were held in both Iowa City and Ottumwa. Interment was made in Ottumwa Cemetery.

When not engaged in her editorial work, Dr. Throne spent much time in gardening and fancy work. Her evenings and week-ends were devoted to her invalid mother. Dr. Throne was an avid reader of history and had a well-rounded personal American history library. Her interest in state and local history no doubt was augmented by the fact that her grandparents on both sides were pioneer Iowans.

Contributors to the IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY have always been grateful to Dr. Throne for her keen editorial help. This is especially true of the scores of graduate students who were shuttled to her desk by their American history professors. These received invaluable aid and direction and found the rich holdings of the Society invaluable for their research. Her services were given willingly and freely to all who asked, far beyond the call of duty. The State of Iowa was the direct beneficiary.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

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COVER

The *J. G. Chapman* #1 with her raft tow. The first *J. G. Chapman* was built at Dubuque in 1872 for Chapman & Thorpe of the Eau Claire Lumber Company. She was said to be the second iron-hulled steamboat built on the Upper Mississippi. She broke in two about ten miles below Hamburg, Illinois, in 1880, and sank with a loss on the boat estimated at \$12,000.

A second *J. G. Chapman* was built at Metropolis, Illinois, for the same firm in 1881. She was burned at Wabasha, Minnesota, on September 16, 1893.

RAFTING ON THE MISSISSIPPI*

PROLOGUE TO PROSPERITY

For sheer magnitude the rafting industry is without a parallel in early Upper Mississippi Valley transportation history.¹ It dominated the traffic of the Father of Waters for almost three generations. It gave rise to a picturesque, half-horse, half-alligator type of river man, who challenged the imagination of Mark Twain and provided settlers of the Upper Mississippi with their closest approximation to Mike Fink — King of Ohio-Lower Mississippi keelboatmen. It accelerated the mushroom growth of such towns as Dubuque, Clinton, Davenport, Muscatine, Burlington, Fort Madison and Keokuk. It provided much of the lumber which transformed Iowa from a log cabin and sod house frontier state into a land of comfortable frame dwellings. It fixed the establishment of wood-working industries that remain nationally known to this day. It enhanced the wealth of the mighty lumber barons of the days of "Come and Get It," men who in turn left behind them such monuments to their memories as the Stout Institute at Menomonie, Wisconsin, the Carnegie-Stout Free Library at Dubuque, the Denkmann Library at Augustana College in Rock Island, and the P. M. Musser Library at Muscatine. The eyes of many pioneer Iowans will kindle as they call to memory those raucous, vibrant days when raftsmen ruled the winding reaches of the Upper Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to bustling St. Louis.

*William J. Petersen is Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa and Professor of Iowa history at the State University of Iowa. One of his books, *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi*, was published by the Society in 1937 and went out of print in nine months. It won the Iowa Library Association award for the best contribution by an Iowan to American literature in 1937. The present article is but a chapter in a larger work on rafting on the Upper Mississippi that is nearing completion by the author.

¹ In addition to valuable material found in the publications of the Minnesota Historical Society and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, two books on rafting are available to the scholar: Walter A. Blair, *A Raft Pilot's Log* (Cleveland, 1930), and Charles E. Russell, *A-Rafting on the Mississippi* (New York, 1928).

The magnitude of the rafting industry is attested by the immense runs of logs and lumber brought down the great tributaries of the Mississippi from Wisconsin and Minnesota. In his valuable book entitled *A Raft Pilot's Log*, Captain Walter A. Blair, long a resident of Davenport, Iowa, has compiled the following figures on the output of logs from different streams into the Mississippi.²

Output of Logs

From the Saint Croix river and lake	12,444,281,720	feet
From the Mississippi above the Falls	1,709,062,520	"
From the Chippewa river.....	25,365,875,930	"
From the Black river.....	5,170,000,000	"
From the Wisconsin river.....	2,285,000,000	"
<hr/>		
Grand total rafted down the Mississippi.....	46,974,220,170	"
Value at \$15.00 per thousand feet, \$704,613,300,000		

The significance of these astronomical figures can best be understood by comparing them with the lead trade of the Upper Mississippi. Between 1823 and 1848 fully 236,000 tons of lead valued at about \$15,000,000 was transported down the Mississippi to St. Louis. By converting the 46,974,220,170 board feet into tons we find that approximately 72,418,589 tons of lumber, or 306 times the amount of mineral extracted during the lead period, found its way down the Mississippi. Measured in terms of value, the lumber for the entire logging period was worth about 47 times as much as the lead.³

² Walter A. Blair, *A Raft Pilot's Log*, pp. 289-291.

³ William J. Petersen, "The Lead Traffic on the Upper Mississippi, 1823-1848," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 17:72-97 (June, 1930). See also Petersen's *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi* (Iowa City, 1937). The 46,974,220,170 board feet are reduced to tons by dividing that figure by 12 to secure the number of cubic feet (3,914,518,347); multiplying the number of cubic feet by 37 pounds, the average weight of white pine fresh cut per cubic foot; and dividing this sum (144,837,178,837 pounds) by 2000 pounds to secure the approximate tons of lumber (72,418,589 tons). The relative relation of the rafting period is gained by dividing the 236,000 tons of lead into the 72,418,589 tons of lumber, which gives 306 times as many tons. The writer is indebted to Dean Walter Loehwing of the Graduate College of the University of Iowa for data on fresh cut white pine which ranges from 33.88 to 40.08 pounds per cubic foot. The author used the figure 37 as the average weight of white pine.

It should be pointed out, however, that some 611,000 tons of lead were extracted from the Upper Mississippi between 1821 and 1904. The following table summarizes the lead production of this region.⁴

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Tons</i>	<i>Decade</i>	<i>Tons</i>
1821-1830.....	23,244	1861-1870.....	84,000
1831-1840.....	55,718	1871-1880.....	49,000
1841-1850.....	215,979	1881-1904.....	24,000
1851-1860.....	161,334		
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total.....	456,275	Total.....	157,700
GRAND TOTAL.....611,700 tons			

From these figures it will be seen that more than a third of the lead was produced during the Fabulous Forties while almost three-fourths of it was extracted before the outbreak of the Civil War. Since steamboats transported over 95% of the lead prior to the arrival of the railroad at the Mississippi in 1855, and since they continued to compete, but on a declining scale, during the 1860's, it is probably fair to say that the pre-Civil War production represents the amount of lead carried by steamboat while that mined between 1861 and 1904 represents the lead that found its way to market by rail. In any event the rafting industry comprises a tonnage 118 times as great as the entire lead production from 1821 to 1904 or about 158 times as great as that mined and shipped down the Mississippi prior to the Civil War.⁵

⁴ Bernard H. Schockel, "Settlement and Development of Jo Daviess County" in Bulletin 26, *Illinois State Geological Survey*, pp. 195-96.

⁵ A good deal of statistical data for the period prior to the Civil War is contained in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, 40:244, 41:126, 42:330-32, 44:703 (Feb., July, 1859, Mar., 1860, June, 1861). The relative importance of the various lead mining towns as shipping centers in 1860 is indicated in the last mentioned reference.

<i>From</i>	<i>Pigs</i>	<i>Pounds</i>
Galena	147,837	18,348,590
Dubuque	55,327	3,872,890
Warren	49,050	3,433,500
Apple River	29,626	2,073,820
Potosi (est.)	20,000	1,400,000
Council Hill	14,203	994,210
Scales Mound	13,024	911,680
Dunleith	10,298	720,860
Cassville	9,965	691,550
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	349,330	24,453,100

The story of rafting on the Upper Mississippi divides itself into two periods — the floating raft period which extends from the 1830's to 1865, and the raftboat period which began with the introduction of these unique craft as a means for speeding log and lumber rafts downstream. A period of transition between 1864 and 1869 might well be noted, for it was during these six years that the first efforts to tow rafts downstream took place. With the construction of the *J. W. Van Sant* (1) in 1869 the raftboat period was fairly launched. Let us first trace the highlights of the floating raft period.

IN THE LAND OF PAUL BUNYAN

The earliest rafts were floated down the Mississippi to the pioneers in the Black Hawk Purchase. As early as 1833 a lumber raft reached Dubuque from above, where pioneer loggers had been carrying on "sporadic operations" on various streams since about 1810.⁶ This lumber was brought from a sawmill on the Chippewa River owned by James, Ezekiel, and William Lockwood. It was William Lockwood who piloted the first floating raft that ever landed at Dubuque. So great was the need for lumber in the metropolis of the Black Hawk Purchase that the entire raft was "purchased, delivered, and in many instances prepared for building purposes" before nightfall. Small wonder that men should turn to the Northern pineries.

Fabulous fortunes were made by many who ventured to stake their claims in the land of Paul Bunyan. Among the trail-blazers in this embryonic lumber industry were such figures as Daniel Whitney on the Wisconsin River, Colonel John Shaw on the Black River, Constant Andrews, Hardin Perkins, James Lockwood, and Joseph Rolette in the Chippewa Valley, and Franklin Steele, William H. C. Folsom, William Holcombe, and William S. Hungerford on the St. Croix River. The large profits derived from the lumber industry of western New York led many Eastern speculators to invest in Wisconsin timberland, the names of Daniel Webster,

The receipts of lead by river at St. Louis for the three preceding years indicate that steamboats still carried a goodly share of the lead downstream for no lead was brought by railroad during this same period. The figures are:

	1857	1858	1859
Lead (pigs)	162,555	228,020	157,265

⁶ *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1880), 353.

Edward Everett, Caleb Cushing, and Ralph Waldo Emerson looming large among the venturers in such Wisconsin real estate.⁷

An impelling factor in the development of the lumber industry in Wisconsin Territory was the high cost of pine brought down the Ohio and up the Mississippi by steamboat. Of hardwood there was a great plenty in the Black Hawk Purchase; in 1839 F. H. Stone and Jack Richman bought 60,000 feet of hardwood lumber that had been sawed on the Maquoketa and rafted down the Mississippi to Muscatine. It was composed of black walnut, oak, and linn; the walnut, one pioneer asserted, being excellent for the "coffins" that must be made because of the prevailing sickness in Muscatine. According to J. P. Walton: "Stone worked one day and had the ague the next, when Richman, who had it, but on alternate days, took his place, which was a great accommodation to their business."⁸

Unfortunately such hardwood was difficult to fashion and unpopular with pioneer carpenters who preferred to work with softwood. In 1837, Wm. R. Smith, a pioneer of Wisconsin, noted the absence of pine timber.

There is no pine timber in the country, except very high up the Wisconsin river, above Fort Winnebago, and up the St. Croix river, and the other tributaries of the upper Mississippi. Pine lumber is worth six dollars per hundred at Prairie du Chien, Cassville, and Galena, in Illinois; these towns may be called the chief shipping ports of this part of Wisconsin territory. Pine lumber is brought down the Ohio river from the tributaries of the Allegheny above Pittsburg, as far up as the New York state line, and taken up the Mississippi by way of St. Louis; and instances have occurred of houses having been built together at Pittsburgh, and at Cincinnati, and shipped *in parts* around to the territory, and placed on the ground cheaper than they could have been by procuring the lumber from the Wisconsin river of the upper Mississippi.⁹

⁷ Robert F. Fries, "The Founding of the Lumber Industry in Wisconsin" in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 26:27-29 (September, 1942); William H. C. Folsom, "History of Lumbering in the St. Croix Valley, With Biographic Sketches" and Daniel Stanchfield, "History of Pioneer Lumbering on the Upper Mississippi and Its Tributaries, With Biographic Sketches" in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 9:291-324, 325-362.

⁸ J. P. Walton, "Unwritten History of Bloomington in Early Days" in *Annals of Iowa* (Second Series), 1:55-56 (April, 1882).

⁹ Wm. R. Smith, *Observations on the Wisconsin Territory; Chiefly on that Part Called the "Wisconsin Land District,"* pp. 7, 8.

Lieutenant Albert M. Lea presents an optimistic and less accurate view in his

In contrast to Wm. R. Smith, both Albert Miller Lea and John Plumbe, Jr., were so carried away by their ecstasy over the prospects of the Black Hawk Purchase that they were unable to properly evaluate the lumber resources of the region. In his *Sketches of Iowa and Wisconsin*, John Plumbe, Jr., endeavored to corroborate his own views of "the finest domains that nature ever offered to man" by presenting the "interesting testimony of many other eye witnesses." Almost every one of these witnesses made some comment on the timber resources of the region. Thus, the editor of the *New Orleans Bee* declared Wisconsin Territory was divided with prairies and woodland so that a "sufficient quantity of timber" was afforded for every purpose. He did not fail to point out, however, that the region north of the Wisconsin River was "nearly covered with a dense forest of white pine, and is abundantly supplied with water privileges by which this valuable timber may be prepared for transportation or home consumption, with the utmost ease and cheapness." In 1838 the testimony of two Canadian delegates of the "Mississippi Emigration Company" praised the "immense forests of the best pine, and other good timber for sawing purposes; with every facility for water power, and transportation down the Mississippi, by which means the whole country along the banks will soon be supplied at reasonable rates: considerable capital is already engaged in the lumber trade, and several rafts have been sent down the Mississippi and broken up and sold at Davenport, Burlington, and other towns: all sorts of lumber for building are at present, exceedingly scarce and dear in the Territory, arising principally from the want of saw-mills; but this difficulty will be soon overcome as there are plenty of mill-sites in the country, but it will never be as cheap and as conveniently obtained as in Canada."¹⁰

The difficulty and cost of securing lumber on the Iowa frontier was

Notes on The Wisconsin Territory, Particularly with Reference to The Iowa District, or Black Hawk Purchase (Philadelphia, 1836), 11-12. Reprinted by the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City in 1935. After describing the tree-studded rivers, Lea asserted: "These woods also afford the timber necessary for building houses, fences, and boats. Though probably three-fourths of the District is without trees . . . No part of the District is probably more than three miles from good timber; and hence it is scarcely any where necessary to build beyond the limits of the woods to be convenient to farming land."

¹⁰ John Plumbe, Jr., *Sketches of Iowa and Wisconsin, Taken During a Residence of Three Years in Those Territories* (St. Louis, 1839). A copy of this rare and valuable book is preserved in the Library of the State Historical Society of Iowa. It was reprinted by the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City in 1948. See reprint pp. 6, 32-34.

apparent to all pioneers. In 1833 Francis Gehon, a delegate to the first Constitutional Convention from Dubuque, occupied a frame house constructed in Galena and set up in Dubuque. In 1836 the lumber for the first territorial capitol at Belmont was brought by steamboat via the Allegheny, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers to Galena, whence it was transported overland by ox team. In that same year Reverend Alfred Brunson, a sturdy Methodist missionary, dismantled his two-story home in Meadville, Pennsylvania, and shipped it by steamboat to Prairie du Chien. In 1838 a Burlington lumber dealer advertised 30,000 feet of white lumber from the Allegheny River in New York State.¹¹

As early as 1837 a Dubuque editor, appalled at the high cost of Pennsylvania lumber on the Upper Mississippi, raised the question of tapping some less remote timber area. It was estimated that the supply of white pine lumber in Maine, New York, and Pennsylvania, would last only fifteen years and the editor naturally looked northward whence a few rafts of lumber had already come. Up to 1837, however, the Indians had owned virtually all of the timberland in Wisconsin and Minnesota but in that year Governor Henry Dodge negotiated a treaty whereby the Chippewa Indians ceded their rights to much of the timberland at the headwaters of the St. Croix, Chippewa, and Wisconsin rivers. Better times seemed certain for many Iowa towns along the Upper Mississippi.¹²

The opening of the rafting season in 1838 was awaited with anxiety and keen anticipation by various Mississippi River towns. On March 31, 1838, the *Iowa News* declared: "The prospects of our town are brightening since the opening of spring. So soon as lumber can be brought down the river, building will commence. By fall lumber will be brought down the Wisconsin from mills built since the Chippewa Treaty, in the extensive pinery, when buildings may be constructed much easier and cheaper than heretofore." Four months later, on July 21st, the same editor chronicled the arrival of a raft of white pine which had been floated to Dubuque from a point 300 miles up the Wisconsin River. Although the timber in this raft was inferior the editor learned a first-rate quality could be procured far-

¹¹ *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1880), 353, 385; Robert F. Fries, "The Founding of the Lumber Industry in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 26:26; *Iowa Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*, July 21, 1838.

¹² *Iowa News* (Dubuque), June 10, 1837. News about Henry Dodge and the Chippewa negotiations was carried in the *Iowa News* on July 15, 22, August 5, 12, September 2, 1837.

ther up. Because of the exorbitant lumber prices prevailing in Dubuque, it was hoped that more of this valuable building material would be brought in to compete against Pennsylvania lumber.

The same effect was noted at Fort Madison where the arrival of a raft of more than 100,000 feet of pine plank resulted in the lumber being offered at 100 per cent less than the previous price demanded. The Fort Madison *Patriot* felt the price would be "still lower" as the mills increased on the Chippewa, a fact which would eventually be of "great convenience" to Fort Madison citizens.¹³

From the very beginning a goodly amount of Iowa capital was invested in Wisconsin timber. In the spring of 1838 John Plumbe, Jr. advertised for enterprising men of small capital who were prepared to invest their money in sawmills to prepare "lumber of every description suited to the several markets on the Mississippi river." Plumbe described himself as a proprietor of the "heaviest timbered Pine Land" on the Chippewa River in the Carver Claim.¹⁴

Numerous difficulties were encountered in floating rafts downstream. W. H. C. Folsom, for more than fifty years a resident of the Upper Mississippi Valley, recalls the trials and tribulations of John Boyce when he rafted the first logs out of the St. Croix in the spring of 1839.

Boyce rafted his logs with poles and ropes made of basswood strings. The high water swept them away. He gathered from the broken rafts enough for one raft, made it strong as possible, and continued the descent. The raft struck the first island and went to pieces. Boyce saved the canoe and a part of the provisions. Boyce was by this time in a furious rage at his want of success, but tried a third time to make a raft. The crew, tired and hungry, refused to work. A new contract was made and written on a slate, there being no paper. The logs were left in the river.

Some of them floated down and were sold to companies located on the St. Croix. Boyce lost all his labor and investment and left the country in disgust. His men got little for their work. The contractor who supplied provisions and clothing to the lumberjacks and raftsmen was never compensated for his goods.¹⁵

¹³ Fort Madison *Patriot*, July 11, 1838.

¹⁴ *Iowa News*, April 14, 1838. Many men who invested their capital in Wisconsin timber or in sawmills came from the Iowa country.

¹⁵ W. H. C. Folsom, *Fifty Years in the Northwest* (St. Paul, Minn., 1888), 97-98.

Gradually a system was evolved whereby the floating rafts were lashed quite firmly together. Most of these original rafts, it should be observed, were lumber rather than log rafts because sawmills had been established at various points on the Wisconsin, Black, Chippewa, and St. Croix rivers. As the years passed, however, more and more Mississippi River towns developed their own sawmills and a tug of war ensued as to whether the season's cut should be sawed at its source or be shipped downstream in log rafts to Dubuque, Clinton, Davenport, Muscatine, Burlington, Fort Madison, Keokuk, and points below. The latter system ultimately won and thereafter fewer lumber rafts floated downstream; but log rafts were generally loaded with laths and shingles.¹⁶

Simon A. Sherman, a pioneer of the Wisconsin River valley, has left an account of the work needed to make up one of those early Mississippi lumber rafts:

The raft was made by taking three planks and boring two-inch auger holes about one foot from each end and another in the middle. Into these holes grubs were inserted. These grubs were small trees about two inches in diameter, dug up with a portion of the roots, and cut off about three feet above and made to fit the holes, with a head upon the lower end. After the grubs are fitted into the plank, three boards (the same as the grub planks) were put upon the grubs crosswise. Then the raft-building commenced, the lumber being put on crosswise alternately, until sixteen courses were laid. Then binding planks were fastened on to the grubs, and witched or drawn tight together with an instrument called a witch, and then wedged fast. This formed what was known as a crib, and contained about 4,000 feet of lumber.

Six or seven of these cribs were put together, one in front of the other, and fastened by coupling planks. A head-, and a tail-block were put on and very strongly fastened, to which were attached oars, each made of a plank sixteen feet long and about eighteen inches wide, about two and one-fourth inches thick at one end, and three-fourths of an inch at the other. This oar was fastened into an oar-stem, which was from thirty-six to forty feet long. This made an oar from fifty to fifty-six feet in length, that was used to guide the raft.

Six or seven cribs fastened in this wise were known as a "rap-

¹⁶ Agnes M. Larson, *History of the White Pine Industry in Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1949, 86-104. See also W. H. C. Folsom, "History of Lumbering in the St. Croix Valley," *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, 9:317.

ids piece," because in this condition they can be run over rapids and through swift water. Two or more of them make what is called a "Wisconsin raft," and several of those rafts comprise a "fleet of lumber."¹⁷

Something of the danger and difficulty of bringing these smaller rafts to the Mississippi is revealed in a letter by one who had just made the perilous descent through the Dells of the Wisconsin.

I have scarcely recovered my equanimity, to say nothing of my equilibrium. Four miles, coasting down a hill of the river, hemmed in by perpendicular walls of rock two hundred feet high, the seething, yelling waters occasionally boiling over you in its excess of rage; where but a slight turn of your pilot's wrist would dash your raft headlong into a thousand fragments, yourself of no consequence when cribs of lumber and bolts of shingles are but brittle toys . . . We had but 130,000 feet of lumber under us, to be sure; but where you notice that eddy, circled by foam, but a few days ago, the largest raft of the season struck the rock there hidden, and was torn to pieces, shattered and splintered. Had one corner of our raft struck, the outside tier of cribs would have separated, the main body swung around, then broken in the middle, and subdivisions gone on, piling into each other like a set of wild cats; and had the poor, meek, trembling specimens of humanity aboard, lost their foothold, or failed to gain the main part of the raft, as the flanking bodies broke away, human clay and lumber splinters, would have formed a part of the debris of the river bottoms below. Why, when the river was lower, that black spot fifteen minutes back, that we passed so easily, caused in one hour the destruction of lumber enough to improve the Wisconsin from its mouth to its headwaters. The van of a fleet of seven large rafts struck and stuck at the impediment; the rest, raft after raft, following in quick succession, with a momentum terrifying to conceive, dashing, crushing, and hurling the cribs in every direction, and strewing acres of the bottom with the remains. This pass is "The Dells." It is a euphonious name associated in my mind with all that is quiet and soothing — "dingle, dell, and dale;" — but ah, when shooting through them, how my heart ached that the association was not a physical reality!¹⁸

¹⁷ Simon A. Sherman, "Lumber Rafting on the Wisconsin River" in *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1910*, 171-173.

¹⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, June 1, 1854. The letter was dated May 26, 1854, and signed by "H."

It was not merely the Dells of the Wisconsin that presented its hazards to the floating raftsmen — danger lurked at a dozen other points — the Big Bull Falls at Waucon and the Little Bull Falls near the mouth of the Big Eau Pleine were treacherous. At Stevens Point dam, at Conant Rapids, Grand Rapids, and Whitney Rapids, and at Clinton's dam and the Kilbourn dam, raftsmen rode the wild Wisconsin with cold death ever present. C. C. Lincoln thought the Mosinee or Little Bull Rapids the most dangerous on the river. Here the Wisconsin narrowed to a scant thirty feet and plunged down a gulf thirty feet deep, with solid rock walls on either side. According to Lincoln:

The rapids, about half a mile long, are a seething mass of foam and waves. When the rapids piece entered this place, a line was stretched the whole length of the raft, called the "sucker line," which each man seized — for quite often the raft dove ten to twenty rods at a time, and all that could be seen of the men above the water was their heads, and sometimes not even these were in sight.¹⁹

It took courage, strength, and skill to guide a fleet of these small Wisconsin rafts downstream. Once the rapids and dams were passed the rafts would drift slowly along in the current. When a raft hung on a sandbar as it frequently did, the men jumped overboard with huge poles (called handspikes) and pried the raft loose. "Each of us had to get into the water," Lincoln recalls. "There was no hanging back; if one did not jump right in, he was pushed in. Sometimes the rafts moved off before a man could catch on, and he would be in water up to his neck. Men worked that way for days, with no way to dry their clothes. I remember that we were in sight of Portage, handspiking for several days before we were able to pass the town."

A cook shanty was set up on one of the rafts comprising a Wisconsin fleet and the food brought to the men on the other rafts by means of a skiff. The raftsmen rarely had a chance to visit the cook shanty. The food was very good considering the crude manner in which it was served.

¹⁹ Ceylon C. Lincoln, "Personal Experiences of a Wisconsin River Raftsmen" in *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1910*, pp. 181-189. Lincoln was born in Naperville, Illinois, in 1850, and moved to Wisconsin when a small boy. He was employed as a printer on the *Waushara Argus* at Wautoma when he made his trip down the Wisconsin on a raft in 1868.

Each night the rafts were tied up at the bank; the tailsman, jumping ashore, would catch the rope that was thrown to him and making it fast to a tree while the bowsman secured it on the raft itself. It took good rope and careful snubbing to check the downward progress of a raft in the current. Usually the raftsmen lay over near some village where they could purchase whiskey for a night's spree. Not infrequently shingles or some other portions of the cargo was traded for a poor brand of firewater. Then, drunk and quarrelsome, they often terrorized the inhabitants of the community before returning to their rough beds on the raft.²⁰

When the fleet finally reached the Mississippi there was general rejoicing for the hard work was largely over. "The nine Wisconsin rafts," Ceylon Lincoln recalls, "were coupled into one large Mississippi raft, with the cook shanty in the middle, and a long table where the men could be seated at meals. Our Mississippi raft consisted of three Wisconsin rafts abreast and three deep, making a raft 144 feet wide and 380 long. There were nine bow- and the same number of rail-oars, and we generally ran night and day." Mark Twain recalls clambering aboard one of these floating rafts as it drifted past Hannibal in the dead of night. His accounts of those half-horse, half-alligator braggarts — the man called "Bob" and the other dubbed the "Child of Calamity" — are classics in the lore of Old Man River.²¹

By 1850 countless numbers of rafts were floating down the Mississippi from the Wisconsin, the Black, the Chippewa, and the St. Croix rivers. Even the Mississippi above the Falls of St. Anthony was resounding to the sound of the lumberjack's axe. On May 27, 1851, the *Minnesota Democrat* recorded the first raft of sawed lumber ever to come down the Mississippi from any point above the Falls. It had been floated 110 miles downstream from Little Falls. By 1857 much sawed lumber from the St. Anthony Mills was being shipped by the steamboat *Equator* and barge to the towns on the Minnesota River. Later this section of the Mississippi contributed quantities of timber to the Iowa lumber yards but for a score of

²⁰ Some excellent photographs of the life of a raftsman on the Wisconsin may be found in the *News-Views* pictorial section of the *Chicago Daily News* for August 15, 1942. The pictures were taken by Henry H. Bennett in the 1870's.

²¹ Ceylon C. Lincoln, "Personal Experiences of a Wisconsin River Raftsman" in *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1910*, pp. 187-188; Samuel Clemens, *Life on the Mississippi*, pp. 42-49.

years following 1850 the floating raft hailed from the St. Croix, the Chippewa, the Black, and the Wisconsin.²²

Immense quantities of lumber were needed in Iowa, particularly in the period from 1854 to 1856 inclusive, when as many people came into the State as had arrived in the previous twenty years. In Dubuque, for example, 333 buildings were erected in 1854, 471 in 1855, and 502 in 1856. The same tremendous expansion was duplicated in other towns along the Mississippi and in hundreds of communities inland. The rafting and lumber industry changed the face of eastern Iowa in the period from 1855 to 1860 from the log cabin frontier to a land of comfortable frame dwellings. The Panic of 1857 laid a withering hand on building construction and the firing on Fort Sumter called a halt to this era of unparalleled expansion.²³

The Civil War proved a blight on many industries, including the rafting trade of the Upper Mississippi. Not only had many raftsmen entered the service but the lumber industries along the river were also paralyzed as construction of homes and buildings ceased for the duration. The southern market was completely eliminated and what little lumber remained on hand zoomed to fabulous figures.

With the return of peace hordes of men hurried to the Wisconsin pineries to raft lumber downstream. On May 31, 1865, the *Dubuque Weekly Herald* noted that a "large quantity of lumber" was being floated down all the tributaries of the Mississippi, that river being "covered for miles" with rafts of logs and lumber. The accumulation of three years was being forwarded to market, and there was every indication that high prices were over. A heavy decline had already been noted in Chicago and St. Louis markets and Dubuque dealers were talking of being able to get the best lumber at \$12 per thousand. "The first rafts down were the lucky ones," the editor explained, "there being sufficient now on the way to glut the market. Thus we are to have our feast in the lumber market after the too protracted famine."

The opening of the rafting season in 1865 found lumber passing Dubuque from the Wisconsin, the Black, the Chippewa, the St. Croix, and even the Mississippi above the Falls of St. Anthony. While much of this

²² *The Daily Pioneer & Democrat* (St. Paul), June 5, 1857.

²³ John A. T. Hull, *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census: 1836-1880*, p. xlv; W. A. Adams, *Dubuque City Directory, 1856-1857*, p. 35; W. A. Adams, *Directory of the City of Dubuque, 1857-1858*, p. 13.

was sold before St. Louis was reached, at least one raft containing 800,000 feet was headed for distant Memphis. During the week ending May 22nd there were only a few arrivals but by the 29th a rising river increased the receipts of lumber, forcing the price downward. Prices stiffened the following week as the Mississippi declined and the prospects of a drought and low water threatened.

Rafts continued to stop at Dubuque, the local editor chronicling not only the name of the pilot-owner but also the river from whence he came, the amount of lumber in his raft, and the firm to whom he sold it in Dubuque. Thus, on June 5th Pilot Reed arrived with 400,000 feet from the Wisconsin which he sold to Clark & Scott. Pilot Edwards arrived from the same stream with 200,000 feet while Pilot "Ed" Huhan tied up at the Dubuque levee with a raft of Wisconsin logs. Both of these cargoes were sold to the firm of Waples & Lambert. From the Chippewa came Ingraham & Kennedy to sell 170,000 feet of lumber to Peterson & Robb. Pearce and Natwig had 700,000 feet of Wisconsin River lumber for sale while Bradford was awaiting a purchaser with 650,000 feet of pine floated down from Minneapolis. A number of flats, after trying to effect sales in Dubuque, continued downstream toward higher lumber markets.²⁴

The vast extent of the rafting industry was noted by editors from St. Paul to St. Louis. Their anxiety over the stage of the water was always reflected in editorial and local columns, for low water meant little lumber and high prices. This was particularly true of those towns below the Rock Island Rapids. Situated at the foot of the Des Moines Rapids, Keokuk occupied a particularly unhappy spot in 1855. In June of that year a gentleman from the Upper Mississippi told the editor of the *Dubuque Tribune* that raftsmen could walk ten miles on the saw logs stranded in the Wisconsin River awaiting a rise in the water. The Keokuk *Gate City* compared their plight to that facing loggers above the Falls of St. Anthony. Up to May 15th no logs had been brought down that stream to the mills at St. Anthony because of the extreme low water. Even the diminutive steamboat *Gov. Ramsey* had been unable to make a trip up the river that spring.²⁵

The same situation existed on the Black River where the *LaCrosse*

²⁴ *Dubuque Weekly Herald*, May 9, 17, 24, 31, June 7, 1865.

²⁵ *Keokuk Gate City*, June 29, 1855.

*Democrat*²⁶ declared 100,000,000 feet of logs lay high and dry. The *Keokuk Gate City* believed all the Mississippi River towns would suffer from the lumber shortage at the very moment Iowa was receiving its heaviest increase in population. Many people, it was predicted, would be forced to wait until next season before sufficient lumber would be on hand to take care of the demand. A few days later prospects brightened as the Mississippi rose at Keokuk to twenty-eight inches on the Des Moines Rapids. At Davenport the *Courier*²⁷ of July 7th declared: "Rafts of Lumber and Logs are beginning to pass over the rapids. The river is now rising, and we hope ere long to have an abundance of lumber for building purposes, as well as water to insure uninterrupted navigation."

Unfortunately the Mississippi did not respond at once but the *Galena Advertiser*²⁸ of July 10th declared lumbermen were still hopeful. A few days later a St. Paul newspaper noted that the St. Croix River was rising rapidly and that 9,000,000 feet would soon arrive at Stillwater. The Rum River above the Falls of St. Anthony had already furnished the Minneapolis mills with a quantity of logs. However, the usual June rise was postponed to late July in 1855 when the Mississippi was in a fine boating stage with about 40 inches or more on the rapids at Keokuk. The *Gate City* kept its readers in constant touch with the situation all along the river. "Lumber is coming down in abundance, and our builders are going ahead actively." A short time later nearly four feet was reported on the rapids and over eight feet in the channel below. Lumber was coming down in abundance and several large rafts had stopped at Keokuk. No logs had put in for the sawmills, however, and building operations were still delayed. The Mississippi once more dropped and by mid-September it was reported as "dismally low" with only twenty-three inches on the rapids. By October 1st all the rivers above St. Paul were brim full and the *Gate City* hailed the news that "any quantity of lumber" was on its way down.²⁹

Because of the width and length of their rafts, pilots found the river particularly difficult to navigate during times of low water. In 1863 the *Dubuque Herald* described this phenomena by remarking: "The bottom of the river is rising as usual and becoming more visible daily; some people

²⁶ Quoted in the *Keokuk Gate City*, July 10, 1855.

²⁷ Quoted in the *Keokuk Gate City*, July 13, 1855.

²⁸ Quoted in the *Keokuk Gate City*, July 21, 1855.

²⁹ *Keokuk Gate City*, July 29, August 3, September 17, 24, October 1, 1855.

call it low water." Despite the low water Pilot Jack Parker skillfully steered a lumber raft containing one million feet of lumber from Stillwater to St. Louis. Another raft pilot, Thomas McLean of Dubuque, received \$1,050 on May 6, 1863, for piloting a raft of lumber from the foot of Lake Pepin to St. Louis in less than three weeks.³⁰

During the fall of 1864 the Mississippi was at the lowest point on record; the water was so scarce that it was said its use was forbidden even to soften whisky. On August 27, 1864, the Dubuque *Herald* declared the sandbars were covered with weeds and grass. "The up-river papers say that boats have frequently to blow the whistle to drive cattle out of the channel to allow them to pass. The oldest inhabitant, always reliable, does not remember a season when the water was so low." On September 15th the same editor asserted: "The river is no better than formerly. She is confined to her bed, and won't be up for some time."

Although low water caused many anxious comments in the press it was roaring floods that gained the headlines. Probably no other industry was more greatly affected by floods than the rafting trade. On April 17, 1866, the St. Paul *Press* described the breaking of an immense ice gorge above the Falls of St. Anthony as "fearfully grand."

Twelve boom piers between the suspension bridge and the falls were destroyed, causing a loss of about \$6,000. A lumber sluice on the Minnesota side of the river was also carried away, involving a loss of \$4,000. A portion of the upper bridge was also taken down. About \$700,000 worth of logs were floated off.

Since lumber yards were located along the Mississippi they usually suffered greatly from such floods. The flood of 1866 caused the greatest losses in the Dubuque lumber yards, not because the lumber was lost but because it was so "sadly mixed" it would take no small amount of labor to sort it out. "A large amount of wood has been lost—but will probably be found before it reaches New Orleans. Owners who saw that their wood was bound to go, offered it to any who would haul it away, for a dollar a cord." At Clinton the sawmills had to suspend operations because of high water; some Clinton streets were actually navigable by light-draught steamboats.³¹

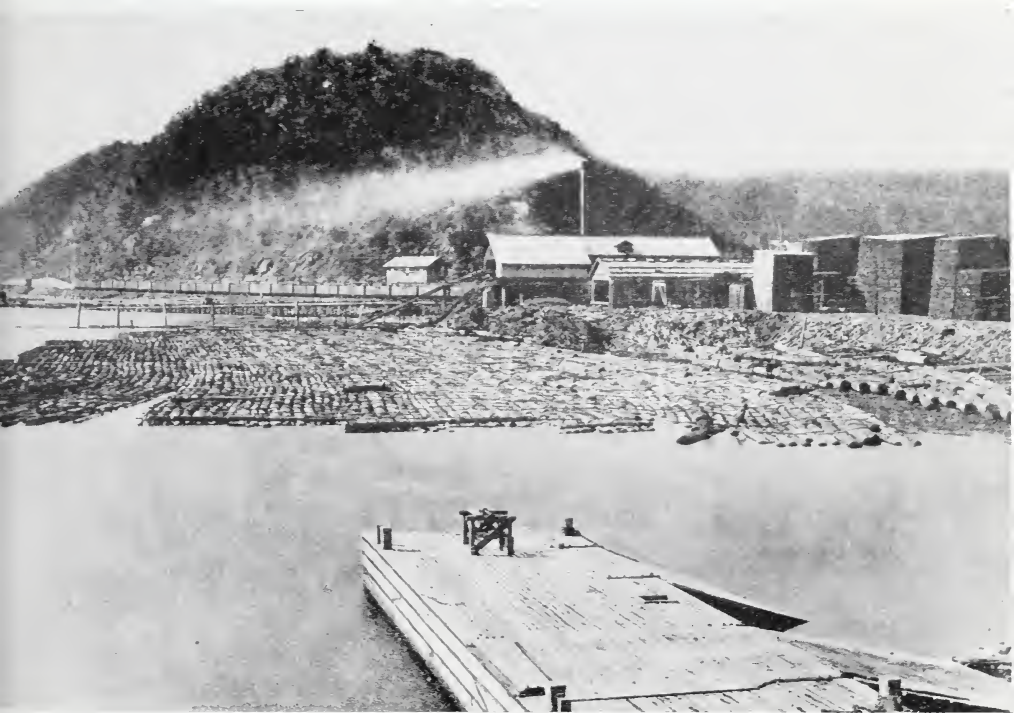
While low water and floods won the more lurid comments it was the

³⁰ Franklin T. Oldt, *History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1911), p. 226.

³¹ Clinton *Herald*, May 5, 1866.



A raftboat with her bowboat headed downstream in 1898.
The raft shown was average in size. Many were larger and carried shingles, laths, and lumber.



Log rafts tied up at the Fleming sawmill at Marquette.

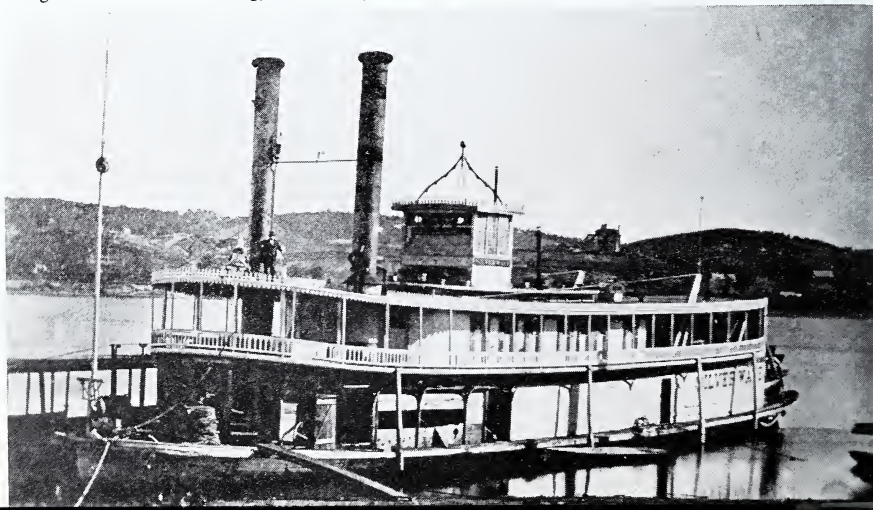


Charlotte Boeckeler — Built at New Albany, Indiana, 1881; 140' long, 29' beam, 4' depth, measured 143.48 tons.

Stillwater — Built at Le Claire in 1872; 125' long, 24' beam, 3' depth, 146.45 tons. Owned by Durant, Hanford and Wheeler. Acquired by Weyerhaeuser & Denckmann about 1880. Dismantled at Rock Island in 1891.



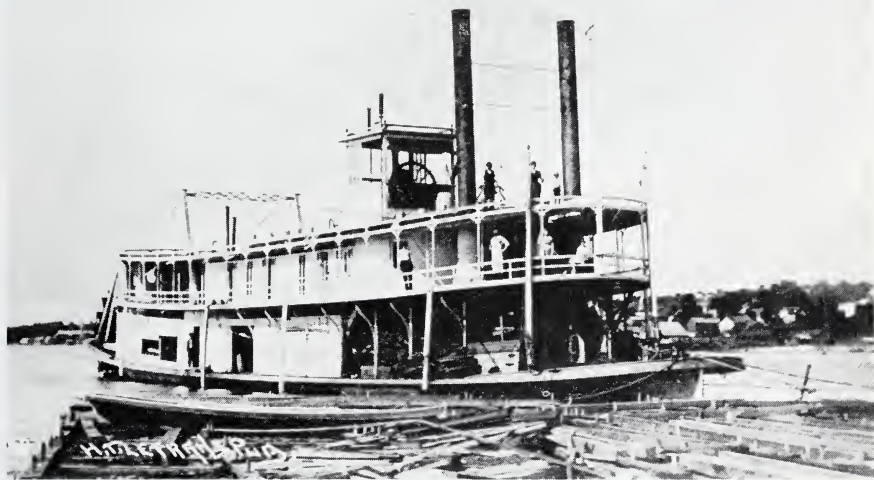
Silver Wave — Built at Le Claire as *D. A. McDonald* in 1872. Renamed *Silver Wave* about 1876 after explosion above McGregor and wreck on Keokuk bridge. She was 120' long, 24' beam, 4' depth of hold; 168.38 tons. Dismantled in 1889.





The *North Star* was used only a short time as a raftboat when she began service with the Burlington railroad as a towboat in 1911.

The *Glenmont* and her raft tow. She was originally the 284-ton *Ida Fulton* — built at Cincinnati in 1864. Rebuilt at Dubuque in 1885 and renamed the *Glenmont*: 128' long, 24'6" beam, 4'6" depth of hold, and measured 92.16 tons. Rebuilt at Dubuque in 1906 and renamed the *North Star*.



The 71-ton *Silas Wright* was built at Eau Claire, Wisconsin, in 1866. She ran as a packet on the Chippewa, and as a Mississippi raftboat and bowboat — 1870-1892 — when she was wrecked on the Upper Rapids.





The *Utah* and an unidentified raftboat awaiting a tow before heading downstream.



A record tow of logs and lumber headed downstream. Such loads could only be carried during a good stage of water.

everyday humdrum incidents that portray the normal activity of the rafting trade. The very magnitude of that trade was the subject of frequent comment in the press. This was particularly true in the years following the close of the Civil War. On June 16, 1866, the *Clinton Herald* announced that twenty-four rafts had arrived during the week, five of which were owned at Clinton. The strong winds had detained a number of rafts north of the Clinton bridge. Four large sawmills were in operation day and night and it was believed that Clinton did the "largest lumbering business of any point on the Mississippi River north of St. Louis." The population of the town stood at 3700 and was increasing at the rate of 100 per month. The value of the lumber manufactures stood at \$1,000,000.³²

At Dubuque in 1867 a local editor called attention to the "immense quantity" of lumber seen coming down the Mississippi, fourteen rafts being visible from the levee on the previous day. These rafts were all working their way past Dubuque to one of the many markets below. Any one of them, the editor concluded, would "build a good sized hen coop and have enough left for a hog pen."³³

In May of 1869 a Davenport editor reported large numbers of logs and lumber rafts and prophesied that within a week the river would be lined with them. It was predicted that lumber would soon be \$2 per thousand cheaper than in 1868. An immense raft of logs was tied up in front of Schrickler & Mueller's mill while other rafts seemed to be stopping at Davenport "either to sell or for some other purpose." Both the river and wind were favorable for navigation. "In this grand, high stage of water," the editor pointed out, "boats, flats, and rafts float proudly and securely over many places that would bid defiance in other portions of the year."³⁴

The opening of the rafting season frequently found most lumber dealers stripped of their supplies and charging fancy prices. The first raft owner to arrive usually demanded higher prices although local dealers frequently refused to buy, knowing that a deluge of lumber would soon be available.

In the spring of 1866 a 400,000-foot raft arrived at Dubuque from the mill of C. Whitmore & Co. on the Yellow River. "The owner has set no

³² The statistics were compiled by Dr. Wood of the *Chicago Journal of Commerce*. While unable to vouch for their accuracy, the Clinton editor presumed they were correct. On July 7, 1866, the *Clinton Herald* proudly announced that W. J. Young and Company would erect the "largest" sawmill on the Mississippi in 1867.

³³ Dubuque *Herald*, May 23, 1867.

³⁴ Davenport *Gazette*, May 12, 1869.

price upon it," the editor declared, "but it is generally conceded that he will refuse anything below \$20.00, which is more than buyers are willing to pay with the prospects of lower prices before the supply is entirely exhausted." A month later the same editor declared there never was such a season for rafts. "They have been passing here for the last two weeks in fleets," he observed. "The eye seldom reaches the river without seeing it dotted with lumber floating toward higher prices. Last Wednesday eleven of them went down, some of them containing over one million feet. The receipts of lumber in Chicago are also heavy, and present prices can hardly be maintained much longer. There will be a drop before long that will make some of the heavy purchasers 'wince.'"³⁵

The first raft of the season usually called for special comment. In 1869 M. C. Kincannon ran the first log raft down the Wisconsin River to Dubuque, reaching that port on April 7th. He made the run from Muscoda to Dubuque in five days, averaging about twenty miles per day for the trip. Pilot Kincannon had the honor of inaugurating the Dubuque rafting season in 1868, arriving on March 24th. His raft in 1869 was small, containing only 40,000 feet of basswood, white walnut, and maple logs. He sold his raft to Herancourt & Woodward, Dubuque cabinet manufacturers for \$15 per thousand.³⁶

The first raft of the season in 1870 passed Dubuque on April 7th. It contained about 400,000 feet of lumber and was destined for Hannibal, Missouri. The fleet was piloted by W. Simmons who brought it from Boscobel on the Wisconsin River, where it had wintered. It was made up originally at Grand Rapids.³⁷

The historian can glean from musty newspaper files the names of scores of men who engaged in early rafting. In the spring of 1866 a Stillwater paper noted seven large rafts towed through Lake St. Croix by the steamboats *Adventure* and *Minnesota*. Six of them belonged to David Cover, who had engaged E. W. Durant, William Dorr, Charles Rhodes, Samuel

³⁵ Dubuque *Herald*, April 26, May 25, 1866.

³⁶ Dubuque *Herald*, April 11, 1869.

³⁷ Dubuque *Herald*, April 8, 1870. In 1870 fully 50,000,000 feet of Wisconsin and Minnesota pine lumber valued at \$7,500,000 were sold by fifteen Dubuque lumber yards. See *Centennial Gazeteer and Directory of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Dubuque, 1876), p. 17.

Register, J. H. Hanford, and Jo Perro as pilots. The remaining raft belonged to Hershey, Staples, & Hall, in charge of D. C. Hanks.³⁸

With scores of pilots and hundreds of men engaged in the rafting trade, it is not surprising that both should leave an indelible impression in the minds of their contemporaries. Newspapers not only recorded the arrival of rafts at their home port but they also chronicled the extent of the fleets floating down the river. An exceptionally large raft, a fast trip, the wreck of a raft in a storm, the cost of transporting a raft downstream, the wages of the crew and the profits of the pilot-owner, these and similar items may be found tucked away in some contemporary newspaper.

Fights and brawls were common among those reckless, two-fisted, hard-drinking crews who plied their cumbersome sweeps as their huge rafts drifted lazily southward in the hot summer sun. "A number of raftsmen," a Dubuque editor declared, "engaged in a free fight on the levee Friday evening, caused by too free potations of whiskey. During the melee, one brave fellow who flourished a huge knife, had his nose broken and several teeth knocked out, by an unarmed combatant, who used only nature's weapons — clenched fists — backed up by true courage."³⁹

Many notable Americans have recorded their impressions of those colorful days. "I remember," Mark Twain records, "the annual procession of mighty rafts that used to glide by Hannibal when I was a boy, — an acre or so of white, sweet-smelling boards in each raft, a crew of two dozen men or more, three or four wigwams scattered about the raft's vast level space for storm-quarters, — and I remember the rude ways and the tremendous talk of their big crews, the ex-keelboatmen and their admiringly patterning successors; for we used to swim out a quarter or third of a mile and get on these rafts and have a ride."⁴⁰

Another eye-witness, Charles Edward Russell, who was born at Davenport in 1860, witnessed as a lad the transition from those floating raft days to the era of the raftboat. In his book, *A-Rafting on the Mississip'*, Russell recalls that when a raft tied up in front of his grandfather's home at Le-Claire he would go down to the shore to watch the raftsmen and listen to their singing. "Next to dancing, and ahead of quarreling, singing was their choice for joy. They had a wide repertoire, too; all of it, with one excep-

³⁸ Stillwater *Messenger*, quoted in the Dubuque *Herald*, May 25, 1866.

³⁹ Dubuque *Herald*, September 19, 1869.

⁴⁰ Samuel Clemens, *Life on the Mississippi*, p. 64.

tion, their own, I think, for I have never met with it since. It appears that the edge of the general criticism of raftsmen was softened with an admission that they sang well."

One of their favorite songs was "Raftsmen Jim," which purported to tell of the adventures of one of the most gallant of raftsmen. According to Russell, the air was repeated after each stanza, when everybody danced, ending with four slapping steps sounding in unison and the roaring of the refrain:⁴¹

Dandy, handy Raftsmen Jim!

One of the verses ran:

"So her pop sez 'Nay,' And he lopes away,
And bobs right back the very next day;
And he shuts one eye, and looks very sly,
She gives her pop the sweet bye-bye.

Chorus

"There aint no cub as neat as him,
Dan-dy, han-dy Rafts-man Jim!"

The life of a raftsmen, be he pilot or a humble member of the crew, was filled with excitement as well as hard work. Few sections of the American frontier have developed sturdier and more self-reliant men. "Rafting is a wild, adventurous life, with all the additional excitement about it of speculation," a writer declared in 1854. "Sometimes a pilot clears in one trip over \$200; at other times, he barely pays expenses. But, even with the risks he has to run, calculating from all the experience of the past, — not a just criterion, as facilities now are greater than ever — his profits are large, and industry and frugality would soon enrich him. I know three or four pilots who, in four years, without a cent to start with, have cleared the snug sum of from \$4,000 to \$7,000 each. But these are rare instances, the jolly raftsmen having all the Jack Tar's hatred of the possession of money. There are pilots about the Dells who get a good living by rafting only through the four miles of Rapids. Their customary price is a dollar a trip, and as a trip can be performed in less than an hour, a steady run of business would give them a handsome income." A fine stage of water had made it possible to float down all the lumber that had

⁴¹ Charles E. Russell, *A-Rafting on the Mississippi*, pp. 10, 210, 211.

been cut at the very sources of the river. The raftsmen were all jolly with money "jingling" in their pockets and prospects of a good season ahead.

The prospects of rich returns caused many raftsmen to invest a portion of their savings in the lumber industry. Some invested in timber land, others in sawmills, while still others in the supplies and material to float (and later tow) rafts downstream. The diversity of opportunity was noted by more than one visitor.

Some of them own timbered lands, and work up their logs at mills they have erected for themselves, or those rented from others; then, building their fleet, leaving a man to attend saw mill, they join their rafts, and, acting as their own pilots, market their lumber in St. Louis, or points north, pocketing all the profits, from the growing timber to levee sales.

Others buy the lumber at mill prices, and run their own risk rafting; while others raft by the thousand, or the day. Lumber above the Dells is worth \$12, that will bring \$22 in St. Louis. Prices for rafting vary from \$4 to \$6 per M., according to the state of the river. Trips are made sometimes in a fortnight, and even less; and from that up to two months or more. . . . Rafting has become so systematic a business, that but little profit accrues to the lumberman who does not go above the Dells, or into the Pineries. Below that point the raftsmen pocket the difference, although large fleets, requiring heavy capital, would yield a handsome return. At Portage, lumber is worth \$12, but the scarcity of mills keeps it at that figure. Timber owners pay \$3 per M. for sawing; where they operate the mills themselves, but half that sum.⁴²

Many Iowa and Upper Mississippi steamboatmen found employment in the Northern pineries during the winter and then helped to float the log or lumber rafts downstream. The more intelligent and ambitious of these early "floaters" later developed into "raft pilots," men who had learned the river and had amassed sufficient capital to contract with lumber companies to hire a crew and pilot a raft downstream for so much a trip, a month, or a season. Sometimes, indeed, these expert pilots could contract to run rafts of logs or lumber for so much per thousand feet. In that case, the tendency was to tow extremely large rafts, especially if the stage of the water permitted. That raftsman who could successfully and speedily

⁴² *Chicago Tribune*, June 1, 1854.

pilot six or seven acres of logs to a mill was in great demand by lumber mills and frequently commanded premium wages for himself and crew.

A pilot-contractor, according to Captain Walter Blair, "hired and paid his own crew, besides furnishing the necessary kit of ropes (called lines) to hold the logs together, making the raft strong and stiff, and also to check and hold it when landing. Some tools were required; besides axes, crank augurs, pike poles, snatch poles, pikes, and peavies. A prudent pilot would also provide a supply of plugs, lockdowns, and brail-rigging, for repair work. Last of all, he must have two safe, easy-rowing skiffs. These things had to be good or trouble was sure to follow. A pilot or company that was known to be niggardly or indifferent about the kit, often had to take men who couldn't get work elsewhere."⁴³

Newspapers were not slow to praise the skill of various raft pilots. On May 6, 1863, a Dubuque river man named Thomas McLean received \$1,050 for piloting a raft from the foot of Lake Pepin to St. Louis in less than three weeks. Again, during extreme low water, Pilot Jack Parker was commended for his skill in taking a raft containing one million feet of lumber from Stillwater to St. Louis. In 1867, Daniel McLean, one of the best and most skillful raftsmen, was awarded a \$100 prize for beating two other rafts in a race from Lake Pepin to Dubuque. A man who could bring the largest raft downstream in the shortest time could name his own salary and was held in high regard.⁴⁴

Companies vied with each other to secure the services of expert raftsmen. During Civil War days the floating raft pilots of the Knapp-Stout Company of Dubuque were reputed to bring down some of the largest rafts on the Mississippi. A study of the size of floating rafts arriving at Dubuque during the year 1865 reveals that most of them ranged from 200,000 to 800,000 board feet with the average size running close to 500,000. Although Knapp-Stout received small rafts, too, their pilots were inclined to bring down floating rafts that contained a million or more feet of lumber. During the last week in August, for example, the entire week's receipts at Dubuque was made up of a mammoth Knapp-Stout raft. Two months later the same company received a 1,000,000-foot raft. Of the

⁴³ Walter A. Blair, *A Raft Pilot's Log*, pp. 25, 26.

⁴⁴ F. T. Oldt, *History of Dubuque County*, pp. 226, 231.

hundreds of rafts that floated past Dubuque that year less than a dozen, perhaps, contained a million or more feet of lumber.⁴⁵

As the years passed, and the first experiments with raftboats were being carried out, the Knapp-Stout fleet continued to contain immense quantities of logs and lumber. Thus, in June of 1869, nine rafts with an average of over 1,000,000 feet of lumber had reached the Knapp-Stout yards in the Key City of Iowa. The last of these rafts, for example, contained 224 cribs, each of which was 16 feet by 32 feet and was piled 16 boards deep. The entire raft was 545 feet long by 224 feet wide and covered an area of about three acres! In addition to the 1,835,000 feet of lumber contained in this floating forest, the raft carried 77,000 shingles, 6,000 pickets, and 610,000 laths. The whole fleet was pushed down to Dubuque by the *Annie Girdon* at a small cost, Clerk C. A. Clark setting the expense at \$490.76, or a fraction over 37 cents a thousand feet.⁴⁶

Of the thousands of men who engaged in rafting during the floating raft period the majority were a carefree boisterous lot who left an indelible impression on their contemporaries even though their own lives were not marked by success. "Before the advent of the raft boats," one writer observes, "the old picturesque floating rafts, manned by the red-shirted steersman and roustabouts were familiar sights on the upper river. These figures have long since passed away, but in their day the raftsmen held the center of the stage in river affairs. Their arrival in the river towns was the signal for bedlam to break loose, and the stories of the wild orgies of these rough characters of the early days cause a shiver to pass over the present-day listener."⁴⁷

Although lurid accounts have been passed down about the tough raftsmen, the *Lyons City Advocate* of June 18, 1859, carried the following incident from the columns of the *Jackson County Banner* (Bellevue) indicating that these ruffians sometimes met their match:

WOMAN'S GRIT — Fifty Men Driven By Two Women

By the arrival of a gentleman from up the river we are put in possession of the following facts, and are assured that the narra-

⁴⁵ Dubuque *Weekly Herald*, August 30, October 25, 1865. Analysis was made of the size of several hundred rafts recorded as passing Dubuque between May and November.

⁴⁶ Dubuque *Herald*, June 15, 1869.

⁴⁷ Dubuque *Telegraph Herald*, July 29, 1908.

tive is strictly true. Mr. Mead, who owns a dam and a mill at the Forks of Black River, is now absent from home and had left in charge his wife and an adopted daughter, Ellen. The drivers of the logging firm of Whitcomb, Morse & Morgan, about fifty in number, came down and found some logs in Mead's dam with the mark of their company upon them; whereupon they set to with their axes to cut the dam away. Mrs. Mead, hearing the row, hastened out, followed by Ellen, each with a rifle, one loaded with heavy buckshot and the other with balls, and taking a favorable position, they cocked their pieces, pointed them at the men and told them not to strike another blow, or some of them would be dead men! The choppers incontinently left. Mrs. Mead then agreed to compensate them for all the logs that might be in the dam belonging to them.

Subsequently the drivers seized a young man in the employ of Mr. Mead, whom they charged with stealing some provisions belonging to the drivers. Ellen again sallied out, rifle in hand, and told them not to hurt a hair of his head, and they didn't. They let the boy go. The men very suddenly discovered that they got into a bad row of stumps, and Mrs. Mead and daughter were left masters of the field. Here's woman's grit for you — fifty men driven by two women! Can revolutionary history show a more brilliant exploit!

Although the general run of raftsmen probably came from almost every state in the Union, many hailed from the various Upper Mississippi river towns. Pilots especially were generally residents of one of the many towns huddled along the banks of the Mississippi between St. Louis and St. Paul. The three Buisson brothers — Joseph, Cyprian, and Henry — were from Wabasha, Minnesota. Joseph began his river career on a floating raft in 1861 when he was only fifteen years old. He began piloting at nineteen, handling such craft as the *Clyde*, the *L. W. Borden*, the *Gardie Eastman*, and finally the *C. W. Cowles*, a fine raftboat owned by the Fleming Brothers of McGregor. Subsequently Joe Buisson acquired the *C. W. Cowles* and ran log rafts to the Hershey mill at Muscatine. When the flush days of rafting ended Joe operated the *C. W. Cowles* as a regular packet between La Crosse and Dubuque. His brother Cyprian distinguished himself for twenty years as master and pilot of the powerful raftboat *B. Hershey*, running logs from Beef Slough, West Newton, and Stillwater, to the Hershey Lumber Company at Muscatine. His record of twenty years on the same raftboat eclipsed that of any other man associated with the dy-

namic story of rafting on the Upper Mississippi in the last half of the Nineteenth Century.⁴⁸

High among the notable raftsmen hailing from Illinois stood Stephen B. Hanks, the nephew of Nancy Hanks, the mother of Abraham Lincoln. Hanks settled on the Mississippi at Albany in 1836 when he was a lad of fifteen. Five years later he headed north into the St. Croix Valley pineries where for the next ten years he was engaged in cutting logs and rafting them down the Mississippi to St. Louis. Becoming a pilot for the Minnesota Packet Company, he quit this line in 1868 to serve as master and pilot for the Diamond Jo Line on the *Ida Fulton*. In 1874 he returned to the rafting trade and never forsook it. After spending three seasons on the *Bro. Jonathan*, he was engaged by C. Lamb and Sons of Clinton as captain and pilot of the *Hartford* at \$1,600 per season. Most of his fifteen years with this company were spent on the *Artemus Lamb*. A powerful, strongly built man, Stephen B. Hanks neither smoked, nor drank, nor gambled. He died in 1917 at the age of ninety-six.⁴⁹

While there were many other notable Illinois raftsmen, such as Colonel E. W. Durant of Albany, and affluent owners like Fred Weyerhaeuser and F. C. A. Denkmann of Rock Island, the Hawkeye State furnished its share of representative men. A galaxy of colorful personalities—the Knapp-Stout Company of Dubuque, the David Joyce interests of Lyons, W. J. Young and Company and C. Lamb and Sons of Clinton, Lindsay and Phelps of Davenport, the Mussers and Hersheys of Muscatine, the Atlees of Fort Madison and the Tabers of Keokuk—loom large in the Iowa lumbermen's Hall of Fame. A good list of sawmills and sawmill owners between Stillwater and St. Louis is compiled in Captain Walter A. Blair's *A Raft Pilot's Log*. Those in Iowa include:

Lansing, Iowa

Lansing Lumber Company, John Robson of Winona, principal owner and manager.

McGregor, Iowa

W. and J. Fleming mill, C. W. Cowles, Manager.

Guttenburg, Iowa

Zimmerman and Ives mill.

⁴⁸ Walter A. Blair, *A Raft Pilot's Log*, pp. 230-238.

⁴⁹ *Burlington Post*, December 20, 1913.

Dubuque, Iowa

Knapp, Stout and Company's mill.

Ingram, Kennedy and Day, later Standard Lumber Company.

M. H. Moore's mill.

Bellevue, Iowa

Dorchester and Huey's mill.

Lyons, Iowa

Gardiner, Batcheler and Welles mill No. I.

Gardiner, Batcheler and Welles mill No. II.

Lyons Lumber Company mill.

David Joyce's mill.

Clinton, Iowa

Clinton Lumber Company.

W. J. Young and Company, The Upper mill.

C. Lamb and Sons, The Stone mill.

C. Lamb and Sons, The Brick mill.

W. J. Young and Company, The Big mill.

C. Lamb and Sons, Riverside mill.

C. Lamb and Sons, Riverside mill, lower.

Camanche, Iowa

W. R. Anthony, successor to Anthony and McCloskey.

Le Claire, Iowa

J. W. Strobeen, the old Van Sant and Zebble mill.

Davenport, Iowa

Lindsay and Phelps mill, erected in 1864.

L. C. Dessaint mill, built in 1868, later owned by Price and Hornby; later, in 1874, by Cable Lumber Company.

Renwick mill, built in 1854, operated by Renwick and Son, and ultimately by Weyerhaeuser and Denkmann.

Strong Burnett mill, built in 1849, eventually known as the Mueller Lumber Company, still a going business in 1930.

Mr. Howard built a mill in 1849; ultimately operated by the Davenport Lumber Company until 1891, at which time it was closed.

Muscatine, Iowa

The Muscatine Lumber Company mill, burned in 1886.

Hershey Lumber Company mill, started in 1852.

The Musser Lumber Company mill, built in 1870.

The Burdick mill later became the South Muscatine Lumber Company.

Burlington, Iowa

The Harmar Manufacturing Company mill.

The Burlington Lumber Company mill.

Fort Madison, Iowa

S. and J. C. Atlee mill. Still in operation in 1930.

Keokuk, Iowa

The Taber Lumber Company built a new mill when the old one burned.

These men owned or employed many raftboats and their names appeared on many a sturdy little rafter. Since their chief contribution lay in the conversion of logs into lumber they do not fall into the same category as those Iowans who were engaged in rafting logs and lumber downstream. At least a few of these men should be singled out whose careers date back into the era of the floating raft, for in their lives is mirrored the story of the rafting industry itself.⁵⁰

Those floating raft pilots whose activities date back prior to 1870 saw the lumber production of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota grow in value from 1/20 of the total United States production in 1850 to 1/7 in 1860, to 1/4 in 1870. But, despite this tremendous growth, the acme of production had not yet been reached. In 1870, for example, Minnesota produced more lumber than Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota Territory combined in 1850. Despite this increase—the valuation of lumber production in Wisconsin and Minnesota in 1900 was five times that of their combined production in 1870. The floating raftsmen of the Hawkeye State were accordingly just laying the ground work for the great days that lay ahead.⁵¹

Captain Jerry M. Turner was a typical Iowa raftsman of the floating era. In 1853, at the age of sixteen, Turner shipped aboard the packet *City Belle*. Four years later he became a floating raft pilot, making \$375 for five trips during the season of 1857. His first experience on a raftboat was aboard the *Johnny Schmoker*. He subsequently bought and captained

⁵⁰ Both Walter A. Blair and Charles E. Russell discuss some of the representative raftsmen in their books. See Blair, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-264.

⁵¹ U. S. Census Bulletins, Census of Manufactures, Bulletin 77, pp. 71-80.

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the *W. H. Clark* but sold this craft in 1859 and became a salaried master-pilot aboard the *Silas Wright* for eight seasons. Captain Turner later saw service on the *Golden Gate*, the *Clyde*, and the *Pauline*. He closed his two-score years on the Upper Mississippi in 1893 when he sold the *Pauline* and bought a button factory in Lansing. Captain Turner has been described as a "close manager" and a "skillful, cautious pilot" who made good time and delivered his rafts in good condition without breaking them up or going aground.⁵²

Another noted Mississippi raftsman was Captain E. J. Lancaster of Le Claire. Captain Lancaster started his career on a floating raft shortly after his return from the Civil War. He proved himself a safe pilot and intelligent master aboard such boats as the *J. G. Chapman*, the *Mountain Belle*, the *Stillwater*, and the *Eclipse*. Between 1885 and 1904 Captain Lancaster ran all the rafts downstream for Lindsay and Phelps and the Cable Lumber Company of Davenport. When these two sawmills closed in 1904 he operated the *Eclipse* as a packet for several seasons between Davenport and Clinton. In 1928 his admiring employers prepared a testimonial in appreciation of Captain Lancaster's long and faithful service for the Lindsay and Phelps Company. A quarter century had not dimmed the esteem for this sterling and skillful pilot whose career extended back into the floating raft period.⁵³

The floating raft period was an important era in Mississippi transportation history. During this period the lumber and sawmill industries in Iowa and adjoining states were being firmly entrenched, the population of the Upper Mississippi Valley was increasing rapidly, railroads were extending westward to the Missouri and beyond, and the demand for lumber reached enormous proportions. A speedier method was needed to bring logs from the Upper Mississippi to the hungry sawmills of the Hawkeye State. American ingenuity did not fail to meet this challenge—the raft-boat, the Clinton Nigger, and the bowboat were quickly forthcoming. And it was largely the inventive genius of Iowa river men that brought about these significant changes.

The impact of the floating raft period is reflected in early Iowa news-

⁵² Captain J. M. Turner, "Rafting on the Mississippi" in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 23:163-176, 313-327, 430-438; 24:56-65.

⁵³ Walter A. Blair, *A Raft Pilot's Log*, pp. 222, 224.

papers that were published between McGregor and Keokuk. Lumber yards and wood-working establishments fairly hummed with activity once the lumber rafts arrived at their back door. Little wonder that seven cities of the first class should spring up along the Mississippi.

The colorful days of rafting have not been forgotten in song and story. In 1927 F. X. Ralphe of Hastings, Minnesota, found the following compilation of old Upper Mississippi boats and sent it to the *Burlington Post* for publication. It was quickly recognized by old rivermen as a once popular ballad of nomenclature that had almost been forgotten with the passing of the good old days. It ran as follows:

The *Fred Weyerhaeuser* and the *Frontenac*,
The *F. C. A. Denckmann* and the *Bella Mac*,
The *Menomonee* and *Louisville*,
The *R. J. Wheeler* and *Jessie Bill*,
The *Robert Semple* and the *Golden Gate*,
The *C. J. Caffrey* and the *Sucker State*.

The *Charlotte Boeckeler* and the *Silver Wave*,
The *John H. Douglas* and *J. K. Graves*,
The *Isaac Staples* and the *Helen Mar*,
The *Henrietta* and the *North Star*,
The *David Bronson* and *Nettie Durant*,
The *Kit Carson* and *J. W. Van Sant*.

The *Chancey Lamb* and the *Evansville*,
The *Blue Lodge* and the *Minnie Will*,
The *Saturn* and the *Satellite*,
The *Le Claire Belle* and the *Silas Wright*,
The *Artemus Lamb* and the *Pauline*,
The *Douglas Boardman* and *Kate Keen*.

The *Isaac Staples* and the *Mark Bradley*,
The *J. G. Chapman* and the *Julia Hadley*,
The *Mollie Whitmore* and *C. K. Peck*,
The *Robert Dodds* and *Borealis Rex*,
The *Pete Kerns* and the *Wild Boy*,
The *Lilly Turner* and the *St. Croix*.

The *A. T. Jenks* and *Bart Linehan*,
The *C. W. Cowles* and *Brother Jonathan*,
The *Pete Wilson* and *Annie Girdon*,
The *Inverness* and the *L. W. Barden*,
The *Nellie Thomas* and the *Enterprise*,
The *Park Painter* and *Hiram Price*.

The *Dan Hines* and the *City of Winona*,
The *Helene Schulenburg* and *Natrona*,
The *Flying Eagle* and the *Moline*,
The *E. Rutledge* and *Josephine*,
The *Taber* and the *Irene D*,
The *D. A. McDonald* and *Jessie B*.

The *Gardie Eastman* and the *Verne Swain*,
The *James Malbon* and the *L. W. Crane*,
The *Sam Atlee* and *William White*,
The *Lumberman* and the *Penn Wright*,
The *Stillwater* and the *Volunteer*,
The *James Fisk Jr.* and the *Reindeer*.

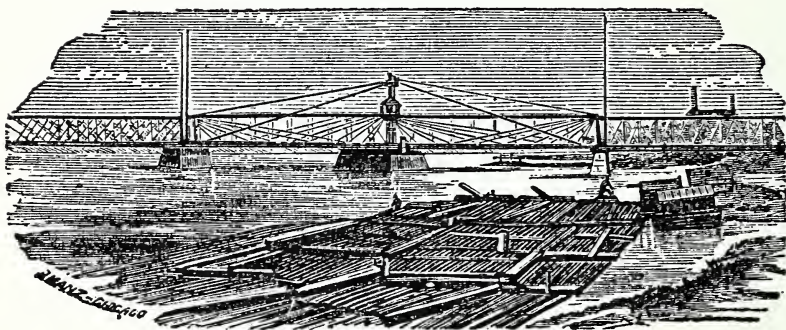
The *Thistle* and the *Mountain Belle*,
The *Little Eagle* and the *Gazelle*,
The *Mollie Mohler* and the *James Means*,
The *Silver Crescent* and the *Muscatine*,
The *Jim Watson* and the *Last Chance*,
The *Kate Waters* and the *Ed. Durant*,
The *Dan Thayer* and the *Flora Clark*,
The *Robert Ross* and the *J. G. Park*.

The *Eclipse* and *J. W. Mills*,
The *J. S. Keator* and the *J. J. Hill*,
The *Lady Grace* and the *Abner Gile*,
The *Johnny Schmoker* and the *George Lysle*,
The *Lafayette Lamb* and the *Clyde*,
The *B. Hershey* and the *Time and Tide*.

The significance of the rafting era is attested by the fact that over ninety per cent of the 112 vessels mentioned were raftboats. A few of these

diminutive craft are portrayed within the pages of this brief history of rafting on the Upper Mississippi. Their colorful story provides a thrilling saga in Iowa and Upper Mississippi Valley history.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN



"SUCH IS WAR:"
THE LETTERS OF AN ORDERLY IN THE
7TH IOWA INFANTRY

*Edited by James I. Robertson, Jr.**

Frank Malcom was not an outstanding Federal soldier. His individual contributions to the Civil War did little to bring ultimate victory to the North and, like most of the 78,000 Iowa men who participated in that sectional struggle of the 1860's, his name — and those of his comrades in the 7th Iowa Infantry Regiment — are all but forgotten by modern generations.

Frank Malcom was not even a fighter; rather, he saw war from the desk of a regimental orderly. If he ever fired a musket at Confederates, no record exists of it. While many of his friends were wounded, and some met death,¹ Malcom suffered only two inglorious injuries during his eighteen months of military service. First, a wagon ran over his foot and sliced off half of a big toe. Next he contracted a severe case of poison ivy that prostrated him for a week. Malcom seemed content to let others do the shooting and killing, and he undoubtedly cared little for the inconspicuous rank of quartermaster sergeant that he acquired in his short military career.

And yet Frank Malcom had a keen eye and strong opinions about the environment of war into which he was thrust. Along with the usual contempt of officers held by those in the ranks, he also possessed bitterness toward the South and a strong desire to complete the task at hand and return home. His letters to his wife are not a literary gold mine for the period, but they have great value for the light they cast on Sherman's Atlanta, Savannah, and Carolina campaigns. Moreover, Malcom was a brutally frank writer who was not inclined to cover up the horrors of war.

*James I. Robertson, Jr., is editor of *Civil War History*, a quarterly journal published by the State University of Iowa.

¹ Capt. Henry I. Smith stated that Malcom's company suffered a total of 90 casualties among its 108 members. H. I. Smith, *History of the Seventh Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry* (Mason City, 1903), 299. Hereafter cited as Smith, *7th Iowa*.

His references to the burning of Columbia, South Carolina, tend to place the responsibility more on Federal soldiers than on Confederate fanatics — a rather unusual confession for a Billy Yank to make.

His descriptions of towns and countryside make these letters a better-than-average travel narrative of Sherman's Marches. That Malcom failed to relate the details of any battle of which the 7th Iowa was a part is due to a combination of his non-participation and his apathy for war. In short, he held a rather enviable position in the last eighteen months of the struggle as an amateur military observer.

The writer of these letters was born in Rush County, Indiana, in 1834. His parents were natives of Virginia, and his father had fought in the War of 1812. Sometime around 1850 Frank Malcom moved to Fort Madison and gained employment as a bookkeeper in a mercantile business. In 1856 he married Eliza Ewing Sample, a cousin of the noted Maine statesman, James G. Blaine, and a woman of exceptional talents as a teacher, musician, and writer.² Although no children came from the marriage, it is apparent from Malcom's letters that a strong bond of affection held them closely together.

On January 5, 1864, Malcom joined the veteran 7th Iowa Infantry. This regiment, organized in Burlington in July, 1861, had compiled a valourous record at Belmont, Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Shiloh and Corinth before its assignment to garrison duty in Tennessee in the closing months of 1863. As the two-year enlistments of most of the men expired soon afterwards, they were given a choice of reenlisting for the duration as veterans or of being discharged from service as volunteers. Three-fourths of the unit signed up for another tour of duty and were thereupon granted a month's furlough in Iowa.

Malcom was one of the replacements who joined Company D when it reassembled at Keokuk for the return to Tennessee. He stood five feet, eight inches tall, and had black hair, blue eyes and light complexion.³ He served as regimental orderly on the Atlanta campaign, in the March to the Sea, and during Sherman's drive through South and North Carolina. After the war he returned to Fort Madison and became a salesman for the firm of S. Atlee. He and his wife "Lida" resided on Third Street between

² *Portrait and Biographical Album of Lee County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1887), 462.

³ Return of Men, Co. D, 7th Iowa Infantry, March, 1864, State Department of History and Archives.

Cedar and Pine. An active layman in the Presbyterian Church, Malcom gained a reputation as "a gentleman highly respected in the community, both on account of his straightforward business methods and his high personal character."⁴ On January 18, 1884, Malcom died in Fort Madison of Bright's disease. He is buried in Wilson Cemetery, Washington Township, Lee County.⁵

Except for necessary punctuation and paragraphing, Malcom's letters, complete with misspelling and factual errors, are printed as he wrote them. A few repetitious passages, family references and similarly unimportant tracts have been omitted. The original letters are now a part of the Manuscripts Collection of the State University of Iowa Library.

Camp at Browns Mill Middle Tenn.

March 10th 1864

Dear Wife,

Being off duty today I concluded to commence a letter to you & wil endeavor to finish it in a few days; I am in hopes by that time Something wil turn up that wil be worth wrighting. . . . The remainder of Co. D returned on Tuesday last looking fine.⁶ The duties now wil not be so hard. I have only been on Picket guard twenty four hours but wil come on tomorrow. After this we will have three reliefs, so I wil come on duty every third day. We have four Stations & 3 men at a Station. We remain there one day & night, each man Standing two hours at a time, which makes it two hours on & four off.

I think I would like Soldiering very well if we had good fare & Good beds. We have all Succeeded in putting up tollerably good Shantyes with

⁴ *Portrait and Biographical Album of Lee County, Iowa*, 462.

⁵ *Keokuk Daily Constitution*, Jan. 19, 1884. Additional material on Malcom was gleaned from the Fort Madison census returns for 1860 and 1870, from the Fort Madison city directory for 1868, and from *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* . . . (6 vols., Des Moines, 1908-1911), 1:1003. Hereafter cited as *Roster and Record*.

⁶ The men had been on leave in Fort Madison where, one member wrote, "the citizens received them with open arms (I mean the girls did) and as happy a thirty days as ever happened was enjoyed with round after round of entertainment." Smith, *7th Iowa*, 297.

Bunks.⁷ There is four of us in ours, viz. a Mr. Phillipps,⁸ Luther McNeil,⁹ Chas. L. Wood¹⁰ & Myself. Wood & I sleep together. We have good brick Chimneys & it is cold enough every night for fier. It has been raining for the last two days, which makes this place very muddy. The people living here tell us this is a fine place for the ague & I believe them, for two of our men have the chills & fever now. . . .

I have today been washing my Handkerchiefs. I know you would have laughed to see me roll up my sleeves & pitch into it, but I managed to get them clean. I can get shirts & drawers washed for ten cents apiece.

Head Quarters 7th Iowa Vet. Inf.

Adjutants Office, Prospect Tenn., Mar. 13/64

Dear Wife,

while wrighting the other day I was Interrupted by Capt. Gale¹¹ who had just returned from Headquarters with a detail for me to report to the adjutant immediately, so Frank had to go to work & pack up his duds & in one half hour I left Co. D for this place. I arrived here at 5 Oclock & reported according to orders to the adjutant (Mr. Cameron),¹² who informed me that I had been recommended to take the place of Mr. Sapp,¹³ who had been Clirking in the Office for over a year, & that my Business would be making out Reports, copping Orders & letters, wrighting passes & so on. Friday morning I went to work and think I will like the place,

⁷ When an army went into winter quarters, the more energetic soldiers either constructed log shanties (called "shebangs") or reinforced tent sides with boards, brush and dirt. See Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank* (Indianapolis, 1952), 55-8.

⁸ Born in England, William B. Phillips resided in Fort Madison at the outbreak of war. He was wounded at Corinth, Miss., in Oct., 1863, and mustered out of service the following July.

⁹ Cpl. McNeil of Denmark, Iowa, enlisted in the regiment at its organization in 1861.

¹⁰ Forty-six-year-old Charles Wood of Fort Madison joined the 7th Iowa with Malcom in 1864.

¹¹ Benjamin B. Gale, originally from Massachusetts, was named a first sergeant in the regiment soon after its formation. Promoted to lieutenant in the fall of 1861, he was elevated to captain in Sept., 1863. He resided in Fort Madison.

¹² Capt. Allen D. Cameron of Keokuk assumed the duties of regimental adjutant on Aug. 9, 1863.

¹³ William W. Sapp, a twenty-two-year-old native of Vincennes, spent his early service with the regimental band before becoming orderly sergeant. His transfer to the commissary department occasioned Malcom's appointment to headquarters staff.

provided I am able to fulfill the duties of the position. I think in a short time I will git along very well, as Mr. Cameron is very kind & shows me all that I do not undustand. . . .

My Board is much better here than it was when I was with the Co. I Board with what is called the *Non-Commissioned Mess*. There is about Eight of us in the Mess. We have a Black Woman for cook, one that has been with the adjutant for over a year. We sleep in the office, which is a double log House with an entry in the middle. Col. Parrott's¹⁴ office is in one end; the Quartermaster, Provo[st] Marshal & Adjutants Offices are in the other end. Taking it all together, we are very comfortably situated for *Soldiers*.

But I have got the Blues today. It is so lonsom; their is not a sole here that I know except Dennis Morrison.¹⁵ I worked until noon today making out the morning report & this afternoon I have devoted to you. I will wright again soon & you *my dear* do pleas wright often. I have not had a line from you yet. Give my love to all, *saving the greater portion for yourself*. Take Good care of Yourself & Believe me

Your affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

Adjutants Office, Prospect Tenn. March 20/64

Dear Wife,

This is Sunday again and I will endeavor to fulfil my promice, though I must say to begin with that I have but little in the way of news. . . . There has been some excitement in camp the last five days about *Gurrl-lars*, Capt. Moore, Chief of a band of *robbers*, has been loitering near our picket lines for some time, has been seen several times within one mile of H'd Qrs.¹⁶ He captured two of our men on Monday last & two of the

¹⁴ Maryland-born James C. Parrott was living in Keokuk when he left for war in 1861 as captain of Co. E. Following promotion to lieutenant colonel, Parrott suffered wounds at Belmont and Corinth. In spite of continual ill health, Parrott led the regiment until its disbandment. After the war he served as postmaster and justice of the peace at Keokuk, where he died in 1898.

¹⁵ Dennis Morrison, a native of Ohio, left his home in Lee County to join the regiment in the fall of 1862. He served in the ranks until a bullet amputated one of his thumbs, whereupon he was named quartermaster sergeant and then acting quartermaster of the 7th Iowa. He later resided in Fort Madison until his death in 1918. See *Portrait and Biographical Album of Lee County, Iowa*, 468-9.

¹⁶ Capt. George Moore commanded an Alabama company of cavalry in Lt. Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest's corps. At this time a Federal officer described Moore as

finest Horses in the Regt., one of them belonging to the Surgeon, Dr. Jos. Everingham of West Point. The men were recaptured on the following day by a scouting party of the 112th Ill., but the Horses wer lost. Moore was seen today within one mile of this place with about 30 men. There is now a scouting party after him, but as he is wel mounted it is almost impocible to captur him.

The health of the Regt. is Good, but the Contrabands are dropping off like sheep.¹⁷ They are certainly the most miserable looking set of human beings that I ever set eyes on. They are *dirty, ragged, sick & hungry*, and the Citizens are almost as bad off. U.S. is feeding about 400 negro Wenches up where Co. D is, and about as many more here. They are quartered in a *corrall* inside of the lines. Some of the negro men are soldiers, but a great portion of them are fit for nothing. The citizens are also a hard looking set; I think [they are] very well suited to this country. "Uncle Sam" is also feeding them. They come to the "Q.M." almost every day for their regular *Corn Meal & Pork*. I send you a Pulaski paper so you can see what Genl. Dodge proposes to do for them this spring. . . .¹⁸

Lt. Col. Parrott is in command, Col. Rice having command of the Brigade.¹⁹ Capt. Gale has sent in his resignation but Col Rice would not accept it, so I suppose he will have to serve until the 25th of July.

I can tell you but very little about this country. In fact I have seen but little of it myself. What I have seen is very poor. I think a small sprinkling of Yankees would do the country and people good.

"formerly of the rebel army, now horse thief and scoundrel in general." U. S. War Dept. (comp.), *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XXXII, Part I, 404. Hereafter cited as *Official Records*; all citations are to volumes in Ser. I.

¹⁷ "Contraband" was a term commonly used during the Civil War in referring to freed and runaway slaves who followed in the wake of every Federal army.

¹⁸ Maj. Gen. Grenville M. Dodge of Council Bluffs commanded the XVI Corps in the left wing of Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman's army. His reminiscences are contained in two works: *The Battle of Atlanta and Other Campaigns* (Council Bluffs, 1911) and *Personal Recollections of . . . General William T. Sherman* (Council Bluffs, 1914).

¹⁹ A native of Pennsylvania, Elliott W. Rice of Oskaloosa became colonel of the 7th Iowa in 1862 at the age of twenty-six. He was promoted to brigadier general in June, 1864, and raised to major general at the end of the war. He died in Sioux City in 1887.

It would amuse you to see the Butternuts come in to take [the] Oath.²⁰ There is not more than one in ten that can wright there names.

My dear, why do you not wright to me? I have not received a line from you yet. I fear there is something the matter. I thought I was sure of a letter tonight but the mail is just in and no letters for me. Do pleas wright often & send me some papers. The other boys are getting letters & papers every day.

Remember me to all my friends. Love to my folks, your mother & Mary. Wright often & Believe me Your affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

Adjutants Office, Prospect, Tenn. April 3rd 1864

Dear Lida:

It is Sunday again, and as I am through with my work for the day, I will endeavor to fulfil my promice to you. I received your welcom letter & the picture last Sunday Evening just after I had mailed my letter to you. . . . I think *your Picture* is excellent; it could not be better.

I have nothing in the way of news for you. Today everything is Jogging along after the old style. You know that when an army is not on the march that it must certainly be dull. I have not heard anything more about our being transferred to the Potomac and hope it is not so. I would like to help take Richmen [Richmond] but I think the trip would be a hard one so do not wish to try it.

Capt. Gale is determined to quit the service. I think it quite probable that his resignation will be accepted during this month. He claims that he is unfit for duty on account of a wound received at Corinth.²¹

The Guerillas are not troubling us as much now as they did at first. The country is full of Scouting Parties, and almost every day some of them bring in some Reble Prisoners. The "Guerilla Chief," Capt. Moore, was captured last week near Athens, Ala., by Genl. Dodge's "Boddy Guard."

²⁰ Under the terms of that period, any Confederate soldier could secure a parole and return home by surrendering, taking an oath of allegiance to the Union and promising not to take up arms again. Of course, such paroles did not apply to those troops captured in battle.

²¹ Gale received a saber cut at Belmont, Mo., in 1861 and was severely wounded at the battle of Corinth, Oct. 3, 1862.

He was sent to Nashville and will probably be hung. They killed four of his men and captured two.²²

Several Reble Deserters have come into our lines in the last few days, been Parolled & sent home, and I see by the Southern papers that in some places they are deserting by the thousands.²³ What few I have seen of them are hard looking cases — all dressed in Butternut clothing and apparently half starved. They all tel the same story & profess to be Loyal Citizens, but whether to believe them or not is the question.

You speak of Genl. Crocker. That was a false report. He is stil alive and giving the Confederacy all the hard knocks that is in his power.²⁴

Write soon and give me all the news. Love to Mother & Mary & Believe me Your affectionate Husband,

Frank

Adjutants Office, Prospect Tenn. Apr. 10/64

My dear Wife,

I have just received your kind and affectionate letter of the 3rd inst. bearing the *sad, sad* news of *Fathers* death. Oh Lide, what a shock, I cannot realize it. You can better imagin my feelings than I can discribe them, for it has not been long since you received the same sad intelligence in regard to the death of your own dear father. I wish I could have been at home. Little did I think when I bid him goodbye at the Depot the morning I left that it would be the last time I would see him. I thought that I stood in a far more dangerous position than he, & who knows: I may be next to follow. I do not know what Mother & Litta will do. I am afraid they will have a hard time of it. They both have such poor health; almost wish I had not enlisted; think my services are needed at home at

²² On Mar. 31 Federal cavalry bagged Capt. Moore, Lt. Col. Lemuel G. Mead and 30 Confederate horsemen. That the two officers then made a hasty escape is apparent from their raiding activities throughout the Atlanta campaign. See *Official Records*, Vol. XXXII, Part I, 654; Vol. XXXIX, Part IV, 280, 305, 624.

²³ While desertion in the Confederate armies did not reach such proportions in 1864, it certainly took on the characteristics of a flood in the last months of the war. See Ella Lonn, *Desertion during the Civil War* (New York, 1928), 21-38.

²⁴ Marcellus M. Crocker left a lucrative law practice in Des Moines to join the 2nd Iowa Infantry, and he attained the rank of lieutenant colonel before assuming command of the 13th Iowa Infantry in Oct., 1861. Valorous service at the head of the "Iowa Brigade" eventually brought him promotion to brigadier general, but ill health forced his resignation from service late in 1864. He died in Washington, D. C., Aug. 6, 1865. See *Annals of Iowa*, 4:765-68 (Oct., 1866); A. A. Stuart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments . . .* (Des Moines, 1865), 255-64.

this time. But enough of that. I am a Soldier & must not giv way to such feelings.

I thought this morning that I had quite a lot of news for you & could write you a long letter tonight, but the bad news has driven it all from me. Consequently my letter this evening will be short. . . . As it is getting late I must close & Retier. Good night. Write soon to your

Affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

H'd Qrs. 7th Iowa Vet. Inft. In the Field
South Chattahoochee River Opposite Roswell
Cobb Co., Ga. July 15th 1864

My dear Wife,

We arrived here on Sunday evening last after two days hard marching. Our Brigade is camped on a high mountain one half mile south of the Chattahoochee river and about two miles from Roswell. We have plenty of fresh air and good spring water & plenty to eat, such as it is. Blackberries are very plenty but I am too busy to pick them. Have had but one mess of them yet.

Our division, under command of Brig. Genl. G. M. Dodge of Council Bluffs, Iowa, is now the extreme left of Genl. Shermans Army. We was ordered from the right to this place, but what for is not known by us small fry. The 15 & 17 Corps crossed the river yesterday & today and are now in our advance a few miles. We may be ordered out tommorrow and we may remain here some weeks. Troops will have to be left here to garrison this ford, and it is very probable that our Brigade will remain.²⁵

All seems to be quiet in front. I have not heard the sound of a canon for five or six days, which is quite a relief. It is reported this evening that Genl. Schofield has entered Atlanta, but how true it is I do not know.²⁶ Suppose you at home are as wel posted in regard to the movements of our Generals as we Soldiers are, and perhaps better.

²⁵ Crossing the Chattahoochee River on the night of July 10, the 7th Iowa constructed and occupied earthworks one-fourth mile south of the stream until July 17, when the unit began moving on Atlanta via Decatur. *Official Records*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 445.

²⁶ Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield commanded the Army of the Ohio (as the XXIII Corps was then called). At the time of Malcom's letter, Schofield's troops had just effected a crossing of the Chattahoochee and were moving toward Decatur and the right flank of the Confederate position. *Ibid.*, Part II, 515-16.

The Governor of Ga. will not allow Genl. Johnson to fortify near the city of Atlanta for fear of destroying the place.²⁷ So I suppose the next Grand Rally will be nine miles beyond at Pine Mountain.²⁸

During our march on Saturday last we passed through the Rebel Works on the south side of Kenessaw Mt.²⁹ I never saw anything to equal it in my life. The timber & underbrush for about five miles was all cut off smooth by our canon & musket balls. Some of the dead rebels were yet unburied & in fact the whole battlefield was a graveyard. The Officers all say that they have not seen as good fortifications an as good a position for defense since they have been in the service. I am told that General Sherman said give him as good a natural position and the same advantages that the rebels had then, and he would not be afraid to meet the Whole Rebel Army combined. This goes to confirm what we have been hearing all summer, that the Enemy is becoming demoralized and will not fight, if they can help it. It is only a few leading men of the South that is keeping up the war. They know they are ruined and are now trying to bring the North as near on a level with the South as possible.

We passed through Marietta on Saturday evening. It is a beautiful town, almost as large as Fort Madison. It almost made me homesick to pass through so nice a place and not to be allowed to stop & rest. The buildings are not as fine as we have in the north, but they are great for

²⁷ Although Gov. Joseph E. Brown of Georgia proved a political thorn in the side of the Confederacy by his strict adherence to the doctrine of states' rights, he voiced no opposition to the fortification of Atlanta by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's Army of Tennessee. Indeed, he dispatched to Johnston's assistance some 3,000 state militiamen — civilian volunteers of such ridiculous appearance and doubtful ability that the men in the army quickly dubbed them "Joe Brown's Pets." For a laudatory history of this group, see Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel (eds.), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., New York, 1884-1887), 4:331-35. Hereafter cited as *Battles and Leaders*.

²⁸ Malcom obviously had his geography confused, for Pine Mountain, thirty-five miles northwest of Atlanta, could have had no bearing on the campaign at that time. Lt. Gen. Leonidas Polk of the Confederacy had been killed on June 14, 1864, while reconnoitering from atop the eminence.

²⁹ On June 27 Sherman temporarily abandoned his flanking movements around Johnston and delivered a frontal assault on the Confederates at Kennesaw Mountain, two miles northwest of Marietta and twenty-five miles from Atlanta. Johnston demonstrated his defensive mettle by inflicting over 3,000 Federal casualties at a loss of 630 of his own men. Soldiers on both sides felt that Sherman acted rashly in doing battle at Kennesaw, and one Federal summarized the battle as "an utterly needless move, and so an inexcusable slaughter." H. V. Boynton, *Sherman's Historical Raid* (Cincinnati, 1875), 107.

shrubbery. I never seen anything to equal some of the Parks & Yards of the old Secesh, but it does not do them much good now. The most of them have gone south & our Officers are enjoying the fruits of there labor, or rather the labor of there slaves, for they were all of them slave holders. I am told that some of the rich men near Marietta sent as many as five hundred slaves south and had them sold two years ago but remained here themselves until this summer. . . .

Roswell was a manufacturing town situated one mile and a half from the Chattahoochee River on a beautiful pine ridge & consisted of about one hundred & fifty fine Buildings & three or four Large Cotten & Woolen Factories offering employment for *Eight Hundred* Young Women, *four hundred* of whom are still here & the others have gone north.

The Factories are all Burned to the ground. The Superintendent claimed Protection from the French Government, but our Authorities would not recognize it. So Mr. Frenchman was sent north for safe keeping.³⁰

We have no Chaplin & hav not had since Teater resigned.³¹ I have not heard a sermon since I left Home excepting one Nigro sermon at Prospect.

You must excuse this disconnected and unintiresting letter, for I am very busy & bothered so much by Officers calling on me for papers of diferent kindes that I hardly know what I am doing.

Be sure to write often & Believe me ever Your Affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

Near Atlanta, Ga. Aug. 3rd '64

My dear Wife,

The Regiment has been engaged all the time building fortifications & gitting ready for the final struggle. The enemy opened on us on the morn-

³⁰ When Federal soldiers made their way around burned bridges and entered Roswell, they found several of the mills in full operation — and at least two of them flying foreign flags. This feeble subterfuge infuriated Sherman; he ordered the mills destroyed and all persons connected with them sent northward under arrest. Because most of the employees were women, Sherman's order prompted loud cries of outrage from all corners of the South. *Official Records*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part V, 73, 76-7, 92; Jacob D. Cox, *Atlanta* (New York, 1882), 137. See also W. T. Sherman, *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman* (2 vols., New York, 1892), 2:66. Hereafter cited as Sherman, *Memoirs*.

³¹ Virginia-born Isaac P. Teeter left his Oskaloosa congregation in Aug., 1863, to serve as regimental chaplain of the 7th Iowa. He resigned in Jan., 1864, to become a hospital steward.

ing of the 31st of July with 84 lb. shells.³² Several of them have bust near our Regiment but as yet we have sustained no Injury from them. The men in the front lines have strong works and trenches to get into for protection & we at H'd Qrs., which is about 50 yards in the rear, have piles of Logs and *Holes* dug behind them to protect us during the night, for there is no telling when a shell may be thrown amongst us & we think it well enough to protect ourselves when we can.

Our Batteries have all been quiet until last evening. They was ordered by Genl. Sherman for all of them that could reach the City to open on it.³³ They done so and such another Thundiring I never heard. It was kept up for about three hours but with what success is not yet known. All is quiet today and it is believed that the enemy is trying to get away.

Capt. Ben. B. Gale is now out of the service or will be in a few days, as his resignation has at last been accepted & he left last night for Chattanooga to be muster[ed] out.³⁴ He is now out and it is a good thing for the service and I *hope* for himself too. He had become utterly worthless — did not seem to care for himself or anything else. He was drunk almost all the time. Lieut. Morrison is A.D.C. on Genl. Rices staff and is a good Officer.³⁵ Some of the men do not like him — say he has the *big head* &c., but as long as he treats me well I will say nothing against him.

You speak in your last letter about *Drunkin Officers*. You do not detest them any more than I do, for I see them almost every day and I often fear that poor whisky will give us trouble yet. On the day of our last battle, the 22nd, several of our Officers was Intoxicated (I mean in the

³² If the Atlanta defenders had any 100-pounder Parrott siege guns, they did not have enough ammunition to fire many rounds. The cannon most commonly used in the Civil War were the 12-pounder Napoleon and the 10-pounder Parrott. Both weapons were used as siege and field artillery. L. Van Loan Naisawald, *Grape and Canister* (New York, 1960), 29-31, 37.

³³ Sherman's steady bombardment of Atlanta throughout the month of August was intended not only to hammer the city into rubble but also to mask the southward inching of his army as it strove to cut the last two rail lines into the city. See Sherman's remarks in *Official Records*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part I, 79.

³⁴ After being "wounded accidentally by revolver, May 27, 1864," Gale resigned from the service on Aug. 3. *Roster and Record*, 1:964.

³⁵ Joseph B. Morrison of Lee County was promoted to captain during that month. Shortly thereafter he refused a major's commission in a Negro regiment in order to resign from the army. In the postwar years he and his brother Dennis (see note 15) operated an implement business in Fort Madison.

Regiment), but do not be alarmed about me, *my dear*, for I have not tasted liquor of any kinde since I left Keokuk, and I do not intend to.³⁶ *I know that pure lips* are praying for me and hope & pray that I may be able to resist the temptations that are daily thrown around me.

The Non Veterans all started for Chattanooga yesterday to be mustered out of the service, their term having expired on the 1st of August. There was 185 of them, which will reduce the Regiment to about 550 men. Almost all of the Officers are going to quit the service. Our Major & three or four Captains are going to start for home this Evening.³⁷ We will have an entire new organization soon and I hope it will be an improvement. Lt. Col. Parrott is now in the Hospital sick & the Regt. is commanded by Capt. Mahon.³⁸

Please write often & Believe me Ever Your Affectionate Husband

Frank

Before Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 18th '64

My dear Wife,

I have nothing for you this Evening in the way of War news. All is quiet and has been for several days with the exception of some firing on the skirmish line and an occasional shot from the batteries. Our large guns have been shelling the city but I do not think they have succeeded in doing much damage yet. I have just returned from one of our Large Forts where, with a field Glass, I could see the city. Could see men & women in the streets & Rebel Flags floating over all the public Buildings. Atlanta is

³⁶ It was not uncommon for soldiers to take a drink of whiskey before going into battle, and if some of the officers were guilty of imbibing before the battle of Atlanta, they did so to a moderate degree. No record could be found to substantiate Malcom's assertion.

³⁷ Among the men who resigned from service at that time were Maj. James W. McMullin and Capts. George J. Bennett, Curtis F. Conn, Thomas L. Montgomery, Robert Reiniger and Jesse F. Warner.

³⁸ Ottumwa's Samuel Mahon served as captain of Co. F until his promotion to major in Aug., 1864. He received a lieutenant colonel's commission a month before the regiment was mustered out of service. For Mahon's own war observations, see John K. Mahon (ed.), "The Civil War Letters of Samuel Mahon, Seventh Iowa Infantry," *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 51:233-66 (July, 1953). Writing at the same time as Malcom, Mahon stated of Col. Parrott: "The old gentleman is about worn out. he cant stand it much longer. everybody advises him to go out of service but he hangs on." *Ibid.*, 255.

said to be a beautiful city, and at the breaking out of the war had about fifteen Thousand Inhabitants.³⁹

The Rebel Army here is under comd. of Genl. Hood.⁴⁰ It is reported that he was reenforced a few days since by Longstreet and 20,000 cavalry.⁴¹ How true the report is I cannot say, but I do know that their cavalry have cut our communication between this [place] & Chattanooga, and that we are now on $\frac{3}{4}$ rations. But I presume it will not last long, as the road will soon be repaired and the Rebs drivin out of the country.

I do not think we can advance much farther until the army is rested and recruited up. It is astonishing *the difference* in our Army now and last spring. I do not think it is one half as large as it was then.

The 7th Iowa left Prospect on the 29th of April last with 631 effective men and it now numbers 335 — a loss of *Killed, Wounded, Sick & Discharged* of almost one half, and I believe the whole Army has been reduced in that proportion, if not greater.⁴² We are all waiting for the draft this fall. [I] think then we will be reenforced. I do hope those copper heads in Ft. M. will be drafted. What do you think they would do down here [in] this hot weather, on $\frac{3}{4}$ rations of hard bread, Pork, coffee & sugar, and have to carry knapsack, canteen, haversack & 3 days rations, something to cook with, Gun & Accoutirments, with 60 Rounds of Ammunition, a Gum & Wool Blanket, all weighing about 65 lbs.

³⁹ Although its 1860 population was listed at 13,000 people, by 1864 refugees had swelled the city's inhabitants to almost 22,000. William Key, *The Battle of Atlanta* (New York, 1958), 17.

⁴⁰ Johnston was removed from command of the Army of Tennessee in the middle of July and succeeded by Gen. John B. Hood, a man possessed of more pugnacity than military skill. Seven months and five major defeats later, Hood resigned and the army's favorite, "Uncle Joe" Johnston, returned to lead the remnants of the Confederate force to the end.

⁴¹ Malcom fell prey to rumors at this point. Gen. James Longstreet, commander of the First Corps of Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, was then in Virginia recovering from wounds received at the battle of the Wilderness (May 5-7). Hood had not been reinforced by cavalry; rather, Maj. Gen. Joseph Wheeler had taken his 4,000 horsemen on a raid along the Atlanta-Chattanooga railroad and thence almost to Nashville. Wheeler's report of the campaign is in *Official Records*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 957-61.

⁴² Col. Parrott put the regiment's strength at less than 400 muskets early in May. Counting losses incurred in the battles around Atlanta and resignations from the service, the unit at the time of Malcom's letter probably totaled less than 300. Yet by December replacements had swelled the ranks to 549 men. *Report of the Adjutant General . . . of the State of Iowa* (Des Moines, 1865), 1061.

I believe I told you in my last about Sergt. Thomas of Co. D.⁴³ He was killed instantly with one of our own shells. Poor man. We gave him a Soldiers Burial which was all that we could do. He was in command of the Co. and, had he lived, could have been 1st Lieutenant.

Genl. Corse recognized me one day on the field; was very pleasant & enquired very particularly for you.⁴⁴ You asked how we like Genl. Dodge. He is *Loved* by both Officers & men in his command.

[Rest of letter lost]

In the Field in front of Atlanta, Ga., August 24th '64

My dear Wife,

Truly death is visiting us all over the country. There is not a day passes that I do not see men killed or mortally wounded. One of our men was yesterday shot through the head just below the eyes and in front of the ears. He is still living but in dreadful agony. The ball passed clear through and came out on the other side.⁴⁵ Another man was shot through the arms. One arm was amputated, and it is thought he will lose the use of the other, but such is war.⁴⁶ It is useless for me to attempt to discribe the one hundredth part that I see. If I did it would keep me writing all the time.

We still remain in front of Atlanta. Our front line is about one & a half miles from the City and about 1/2 mile from the Enemys first line of works. Our line is only fifty yards from the Rebel skirmish line! The two

⁴³ A resident of Van Buren County, Sgt. Benjamin Thomas was chatting with Lt. Henry Smith when a shell from a Parrott gun plunged into the breastworks and decapitated him. Smith, *7th Iowa*, 166-67. His death occurred on Aug. 11.

⁴⁴ Born in Pittsburgh, Pa., John M. Corse resigned from West Point to enter the field of law. He was practicing in Burlington when war began. Valiant service with the 6th Iowa Infantry brought him promotion to brigadier general and Sherman's staff late in 1863. Given command of a division in the following spring, he distinguished himself on several occasions, particularly at the battle of Allatoona, Ga. (Oct. 5), where he held off repeated Confederate assaults and, after the battle, sent Sherman a famous telegram which stated: "I am short a cheek-bone and an ear, but am able to whip all hell yet." After the war he held a number of Federal appointments, including postmaster of Boston, Mass. See *Battles and Leaders*, 4:254, 321-23, 325, 425; *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, 2:1-19, 105-45, 278-304 (Apr., 1895-Jan., 1896).

⁴⁵ The wounded soldier was probably Pvt. James Dunlay of Co. K, who died of injuries on the date of Malcom's letter.

⁴⁶ Pvt. Zenus W. Johns of Co. A was wounded severely in the right arm on Aug. 10, but remained in service until Jan. 20, 1865.

lines are in speaking distance and the men on Picket have some very interesting conversations, and some of the Rebs have ventured over to our men to have a Social Chat, on promise that our boys would not keep them as prisoners.⁴⁷

Our Guns have been shelling the City continusly. The Guns in our Division have for the last week fired one shot every fifteen minutes during the night. They have also been throwing hot shot into Atlanta, and in that way have kept the Enemys Guns quiet and done as much damage as possible to the City.⁴⁸

We are expecting marching orders evry moment. Will write you again as soon as I can. Love to all. Write often & Believe me Ever Your Affectionate Husband,

Frank Malcom

P. S. 9 Oclock P. M. Atlanta is *on fire* & our Guns are throwing shells into the city as fast as they can. Just imagine a bunch of *fire crackers* exploding all at one time and you can then form an idea of the cannon-ading that is going on now. I do hope the city will be burned to the ground.⁴⁹

Near East Point, Ga., Sunday, Sept. 11th 1864

My dear Wife,

I presum you have been looking for a letter from me for sometime. The only excuse that I can offer is a want of time, and if I had taken time to write, I do not suppose I could have got it mailed.

I believe I told you in my letter of the 24th of July [August] that we were just on the eve of marching. We started on the afternoon of the 25th

⁴⁷ The friendly intermingling of Johnny Rebs and Billy Yanks between battles reached such proportions during the war as to give officers on both sides deep concern. Indeed, one Federal soldier wrote of such informal get-togethers: "We generally end by mutually wishing we had let those who made the quarrel be the very ones to fight. If the question was left up to the two contending armies here, we would restore the Union tomorrow and hang both cabinets at our earliest convenience afterwards." Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank*, 350-51.

⁴⁸ Designed for incendiary purposes, "hot shot" was made by heating 24-pounder shells in stoves erected near the cannon and then firing the redhot projectiles at targets. They were first used with effectiveness in the bombardment of Fort Sumter.

⁴⁹ At this time one of the city's inhabitants likened the artillery barrage to "all the fires of hell, and the thunders of the universe . . . blazing and roaring over Atlanta." Key, *The Battle of Atlanta*, 69.

and that night all of our Corps evacuated the works in front of Atlanta — the 20th Corps falling back across the Chattahoochee River to protect our Rail Road Communication, while the Army of the Tennessee and the Army of the Cumberland & the Army of the Ohio advanced in the direction of the Atlanta and Macon Rail Road.⁵⁰ The move is called Shermans Raid. It was a very perilous one and was made by Genl. Sherman in opposition to the advice of the President and Genl. Grant.⁵¹

The object of the move was to cut the Macon Rail Road, draw the Enemy out of Atlanta, and in so doing enable the 20th Corps to march into the City, and it has proven a success, for as you doubtless have heard before this time, Atlanta was captured on the 2nd. Our Army received the news on the morning of the 3rd and a happy day it was for us, for we then knew that the desired end had been accomplished . . .

Our troops had some hard fighting, and skirmishing was going on all the time. We struck the Montgomery R.R. at Fairburn and destroyed it for some ten miles, then advanced, driving the enemy before us one day & night, cut the Atlanta & Macon R.R. at Jon[e]sboro and destroyed it for several miles. While there we received the news of the capture of Atlanta. Genl. Sherman immediately ordered all distruction of property to cease, stating that all had been gained that he expected.⁵²

I regret the death of Capt. Adams.⁵³ Poor man, he had a hard time of it. I fear it will almost kill his Wife.

⁵⁰ Leaving Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas' Army of the Cumberland before Atlanta, Sherman on Aug. 25 ordered Maj. Gen. John A. Logan's Army of the Tennessee and Schofield's Army of the Ohio to complete the Federal investment by striking the two remaining rail lines that entered Atlanta from the south. Sherman's strategy was simple: by the move he could sever the last connections the Confederate defenders had with the outside world, and for Hood to combat the move meant abandoning the Atlanta earthworks to do battle. Hood quickly sent Lt. Gen. William J. Hardee's corps to Jonesboro, twenty-two miles south of Atlanta. But Sherman skillfully piled his troops in a wedge between the Confederate forces, defeated Hardee at Jonesboro on Aug. 31 and then broke the rail lines. At 5 p.m. on Sept. 1, Hood began withdrawing his troops from the Gate City. The two-month siege of Atlanta was over.

⁵¹ Neither Lincoln nor Grant voiced any opposition to Sherman's final thrust on Atlanta. Indeed, with national elections just around the corner and with Grant's army bogged down at Petersburg, Lincoln was anxious for any move that might hasten the fall of the Georgia city.

⁵² Maj. Gen. Henry W. Slocum and his XX Corps marched into Atlanta at 11 a.m. on Sept. 2; on the following day Sherman issued an order for the temporary cessation of hostilities. Smith, *7th Iowa*, 184.

⁵³ A family friend; no Iowa officer by that name was killed in the Atlanta campaign.

We have a nice place for a camp and in a few days will be very comfortable. I was disappointed in not getting to see Atlanta; think I will try and visit the place before we start again. East Point is at the Junction of the Macon & Montgomery R.R. six miles South of Atlanta and consists of three houses & a water tank. We are one mile west of it in the woods.

I must now tell you of my misfortune. I am *badly wounded* — but *unfortunately* for me it was not done by the enemy. I have been with the teams for the last month getting my work straightened up. On the morning of the 30th of July I was at work getting some papers out of my Desk, the team started without my knowing it, and the front wheel of a six mule team ran over my right foot, cutting the *big toe* off just at the root of the nail. At first I did not think I was hurt much, but when I pulled off my shoe & sock the end of the toe fell off on the ground. The Quartermaster⁵⁴ very kindly hunted up a Surgeon, but as we were on the move nothing could be done for it. I got into the sutlers wagon & road all that day and all night without having it dressed. All that I done for it was to keep it out with cold water. I wanted to go to the hospital but my friends would not allow me to do so. They have been very kind — have done all that they could for me. My toe was very painful; all the *nale* & flesh was cut off smooth, leaving the end of the bone sticking out. The Dr. thinks that the bone will have to be taken off but I hope not. It is much better now. I can walk very well with a cane; have attended to me business all the time.

Love to all & Believe me ever Your Affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

Near East Point, Ga., Sept. 20th '64

My dear Wife,

As Lieut. Morrison starts home in the morning and has very kindly offered to carry anything that I wish to send you, I concluded to write you a few lines, but as I wrote you a long letter on Sunday last my letter this evening will be short.

My health is good as usual. Am quite lame yet but my toe is improving as fast as could be expected. I have managed with much difficulty to attend to my duties in the Office and hope to be able to do so, but I do not expect to be able to ware a Boot or Shoe for one month yet.

⁵⁴ Capt. Charles H. Trott of Nashua assumed the duties of regimental quartermaster in June, 1863. For praise of his work, see *Official Records*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part III, 493.

The Regiment is now in Atlanta Preparing grounds for an Army Hospital. It left here this morning at daylight and will remain away two or three days. I remained here in charge of the office and have been very busy all day. I am *getting tired* [of] doing an Adjutants work for a *Privates Pay*.

Col. Parrott & Sergt. Hamilton⁵⁵ have not arrived yet, though they are expected daily. I do not think the Colonel will Resigne; we all hope he will. He has always treated me well, but I think another commander would be preferable. I do not think a man that drinks as much whiskey as he does should command a Regiment.

J. D. Hamilton is now 1st Lieutenant of Co. D. His commission arrived last week. Lieut. Morrison was commissioned Captain of the Co. but would not be mustered, so that will make Hamilton Capt. *Pretty Good for Dave*.

Remember me to all my friends. Give my love to Mother & Mary. Write to me *often* & Believe me Ever Your Affectionate husband

Frank Malcom

Rome, Ga. Nov. 8th 1864

My dear Wife,

As this is Election day and being one of the clerks, I have a few moments to write. It is now noon and we have closed for one hour. We have polled two hundred and fifty-seven votes up to the present time & not one for Little Mack.⁵⁶ I will write you as soon as I can and give you all the news.

Yesterday was *Pay Day*. We all Recd. our pay up to the 31st of August last. I Recived \$181.80. I send you \$170. The Paymaster takes it to Louisville, Ky., and then forwards it by Express to any point that the Cos. may designate. Company D sends theirs to Chas. Brewster, Esq. of Fort

⁵⁵ A resident of Montrose, Sgt. James D. Hamilton was promoted to captain of Co. D on Sept. 18.

⁵⁶ To oppose Lincoln in the 1864 presidential race, the Democrats nominated Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, former commander of the Army of the Potomac and a leader well liked by the troops in the East despite his over-cautiousness in battle. The anti-Lincolnites hoped that a combination of McClellan's popularity and a platform calling for peace would carry the Democrats to victory. Lincoln won with 55% of the popular vote; he garnered 212 electoral votes to McClellan's 21. Of 344 votes cast by the men in the 7th Iowa, Lincoln received 338. Frank Malcom to Wife, Nov. 9, 1864.

Madison.⁵⁷ You will call on him and get your package when it arrives. I will write soon.

You must excuse haste now & Believe me Ever Your Affectionate husband

Frank Malcom

Andisons Plantation, 9 Miles South West
of Savannah, Ga., Dec. 17th 1864

My dear Wife,

I have the pleasure of acknowledging the Receipt of your kind and affectionate letters of the 6th, 13th & 21st of November, for which I am much obliged.

We left Rome as you have doubtless learned on the morning of the 11th of November and started on a Winter Campaign.⁵⁸ The City of Rome and all the Camp and Garrison Equipage was burned on the morning of our Departure,⁵⁹ as was Kingston and all the Towns that we have passed through since that time.⁶⁰ The City of Atlanta was burned to the Ground on the 15th of Nov. I had the pleasure of seeing it in flames, which paid me in part for the long weary days that I spent last summer behind fortifications & dodging Rebel bullets.⁶¹

Shermans Army resumed their march from Atlanta on the 16th of No-

⁵⁷ Charles Brewster was president of the Fort Madison Bank and one of the largest landowners in the county.

⁵⁸ On the March to the Sea the 7th Iowa, along with the 52nd Illinois, 66th Indiana and 2nd Iowa, formed the First Brigade of the Fourth Division of the XV Corps. Maj. Gen. Peter J. Osterhaus commanded the corps, Brig. Gen. John M. Corse the division, and Brig. Gen. Elliott W. Rice the brigade. *Official Records*, Vol. XLIV, 849-50.

⁵⁹ Gen. Corse, acting under Sherman's orders, burned the major factories, warehouses and railroad equipment of Rome on Nov. 10. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX, Part III, 729-30.

⁶⁰ On Nov. 12 Hood's chief of staff, Brig. Gen. Francis A. Shoup, reported that Sherman's men had destroyed everything of military value from Rome to Kingston. *Ibid.*, Part II, 808.

⁶¹ Sherman entrusted the destruction of Atlanta to Col. Orlando M. Poe of the engineers, who carried out his orders efficiently. On the evening of Nov. 14, railroad buildings and storehouses were set afire, and a combination of drunken soldiers and exploding shells in one of the arsenals ignited and eventually gutted thirty per cent of the city. As Sherman moved eastward toward the sea, he looked back and beheld Atlanta "smouldering and in ruins, the black smoke rising high in the air, and hanging like a pall over the ruined city." Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:178.

vember in 3 Columns⁶² — our Corps (the 15th) being a part of the Center Column; the Left Passing through Millageville, capturing that city without any opposition from the Enemy; our Right Passed near Macon and engaged the Enemy for five days while the Center and Left Columns were passing, then passed on, leaving them in their glory, not deeming the place worth contending for, as all the Rail Road Communications had been destroyed, rendering the place of no use to any one, not even the Rebs.

We then advanced slowly, crossing the Ogeechee River at several points & destroying the Georgia Central Rail Road. Our Division would cross the River, Destroy 8 or ten miles of the Road and then Re-cross the River and advance down stream on the opposite side from Savannah. The 1st Brigade did not fire a gun at the Enemy from the time we left Rome until we arrived at Jenkins Bridge on the Ogeechee River 20 miles from Savannah. small skirmish, but the Rebs soon skedaddled. The 2nd lost two men, the lost one man severely wounded: John Kreiger of Co. D, shot through the head.⁶⁴

We have been in camp here since the 11th. We are in sight of the Enemys forts and the two picket lines are within speaking distance of each other. Cannonading is going on continusly and skirmishing has got to be a common thing with us again. I do not know what this inactivity means for we would all of us rather push ahead but presume it is for the best.

Fort McAllister was captured by our forces on the 14th with about 300 prisoners, which *opened our communications to the Sound*.⁶⁵ We have a

⁶² Numbering about 60,000 men, Sherman's army was actually divided into two wings. Maj. Gen. Oliver O. Howard commanded the Right Wing, composed of the XV and XVII Corps, while Maj. Gen. H. W. Slocum led the Left Wing, made up of the XIV and XX Corps. Thomas' Army of the Cumberland had been detailed to keep an eye on Hood, who was then moving toward Tennessee.

⁶³ The skirmish at Jenks's Bridge took place in the afternoon of Dec. 7 and involved Rice's brigade and a detachment of Confederates who were attempting to maintain control of the crossing. An assault by the 2nd and 7th Iowa routed the defenders. Wounded in the affair were Pvts. Job A. Clark of Floyd County and Oliver G. Knudson of Oskaloosa. *Official Records*, Vol. XLIV, 126, 137.

⁶⁴ Alexander Kreiger of Co. D was severely wounded in the skirmishing of Dec. 11. He later returned to service and was with the regiment through the remainder of the war. He resided in Fort Madison. *Roster and Record*, 1:986.

⁶⁵ Fort McAllister surrendered at 5 p.m. on the afternoon of Dec. 13. Federal losses in the battle were 24 killed and 110 wounded; Confederate casualties numbered 14 killed, 21 wounded and 195 captured. An exuberant Federal officer began a telegram announcing the victory with the statement: "Take a good big drink, a long breath, and then yell like the devil. The fort was carried . . ." *Official Records*, Vol. XLIV, 704.

fleet at the mouth of the Ogeechee River which emptyes into the Sound 20 miles below Savannah. This is all the communication that we have open with the gulf yet.

Our forces are now bombarding Ft. Jackson on the Savannah River five miles below Savannah which, when taken, will open communication with Fort Pulaski at the mouth of the Savannah River. When Ft. Jackson falls our Gun Boats will be able to reach the City of Savannah and with their assistance the place will soon fall.

I must now close for the mail is Ready to start. My health is good; I never felt better in my life. Get quite lonsom at times but that we all expect. You must, my *dear*, excuse my bad writing; hope I will be able to do better soon.

Remember me to all. Write to me as often as possible and Believe me
Ever Your Affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

P.S. As the mail did not leave as soon as I expected, [I] concluded to add a few more lines. . . .

We have during the last month passed through a fine country with the exception of about 3 days travel in the pine swamps, and with the exception of four or five days the weather has been beautiful & the Roads good. Forage has been plenty, and while on the march we lived fine — had plenty of frish Beef & Pork, Chickens, Turkeys, Gees &c. In fact, we had all that we wanted to eat — had Plenty of Sweet Potatoes, Turnips, Cabbage, corn meal, molasses, salt, sugar &c. There was a guard stationed at every house to guard all that was inside of it & to protect the Women & Children, but the soldiers were at liberty to take all that they could finde outside of the house, or on the farm.⁶⁶

We are now living rather hard but I think we will have plenty in a few days. All that we have to eat now is corn meal & Beef. We live on mush & fried Beef. I would not care if I could get plenty of coffee but we do not get anything excepting what I have mentioned.

I must again ask you to excuse my bad writing, for it is the best I can do on my knee.

⁶⁶ As might be expected, the rule of soldiers guarding but not entering homes was broken as many times as it was obeyed. For examples, see Haskell Monroe (ed.), *Yankees A-Coming: One Month's Experience during the Invasion of Liberty County, Georgia, 1864-1865* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1959), 36-69.

The next four letters contained only weather reports, rumors of impending campaigns, and pleas to Mrs. Malcom that she write. No mention was made of the fall of Savannah. In one of the war's most famous telegrams, General Sherman presented the city to President Lincoln as a Christmas gift on December 22.

Savannah, Ga., Jany. 15th 1865

My dear Wife,

I have been waiting patiently for sometime to hear from you, but as I have failed to do so, concluded to write again. . . .

I attended Church on last Sunday with Dennis A. Morrisson, and as the Catholic Church was his choice, I went with him but cannot say that I appreciated the service, altho everything was nice and in good order. The Church was largely attended and the music was fine.

I attended Church today also; it was my entention to attend the Presbyterian Church, but was informed that there was but one church of that Denomination in the City and that it was closed.⁶⁷ I preferred the Methodist as my next choice. The sermon was quite lengthy and very good, but was not quite as strong[ly] Union as I would wish.⁶⁸

We are still in Camp on the Savannah River one mile from town, but there is strong talk of our moveng in a few days. I will write you before we start. I visited the City last Tuesday in Company with my Friend Capt. Cameron. The Capt. called for me early in the morning and brot with him a fine horse for me to Ride. We rode all over the city and then witnessed the Review of Genl. Kilpatrick's Cavalry by Genl. Sherman.⁶⁹ The

⁶⁷ Malcom was misinformed, for the Presbyterian Church was very much open. Maj. Mahon wrote his sister of attending services there that very Sunday and added: "The building was very crowded, citizens and soldiers all together." The minister, S. Edward Axson, defiantly omitted the prayers for the President in his service and simply passed on to the next oblation. *IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY*, 51:259 (July 1953); M. A. deWolfe Howe (ed.), *Marching with Sherman: Passages from the Letters . . . of Henry Hitchcock* (New Haven, 1927), 199-200. Hereafter cited as Howe, *Hitchcock*.

⁶⁸ Savannah churches were very pro-Southern and held union services throughout the war "to supplicate the protection of God upon the Confederacy." See T. Conrad Bryan, *Georgia in the Confederacy* (Athens, Ga., 1953), 231, 233-34, 238-39, 242.

⁶⁹ Maj. Gen. Judson Kilpatrick was a squat, red-bearded officer full of vanity and ambition. Dubbed "Kilcavalry" for the manner in which he drove his men and horses, he had little sympathy for Southerners and was largely responsible for the depredations that occurred on the March to the Sea. However, Confederates exacted

review was a grand one. We took our stand on Bay Street opposite the Exchange buildings at 12 M. and the procession did not pass where we were stationed until after 3 P.M. General Sherman took his stand just across the street from us. The Old Gentleman looked well pleased and was bowing to almost all that passed.

I also had the pleasure of seeing *Secretary Stanton* and *Q.M.G. Meigs*, who had arrived the evening before on board the Ocean Steamer, *Crescent*.⁷⁰

Mr. Stanton is a fine looking old man of about fifty and resembles Wm. D. Ewing of St. Louis very much.⁷¹

I must close now. Will write again in a few days. The weather is fine and warm. I can work all day without a coat on or fire in my Tent.

Believe me Ever Your Affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

Savannah, Ga., Jany. 18th '65

My dear Wife,

No news from you yet and we have today received marching orders, or what amounts to the same. We are to be ready to move at a moments notice. The 3rd Division are mooving today, as is also the Pioneer Corps, and it is quite probable our Division will moove tomorrow or the day following.⁷²

We were in hopes for a long time that our Division would Garrison this place, but it is settled now that we hav to endure the hardship of another Campaign, and in fact the most of us would rather be on the moove with Shermans Army than to be doing Garrison duty. We are proud of our

a share of revenge three months later when cavalry raided his camp, captured several aides and one of his mistresses, and sent the general scurrying for safety, "a sorry-looking figure in his shirt and drawers." *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 12:127 (1884).

⁷⁰ Widespread rumors in Washington that Sherman was displaying merciless treatment to Negroes prompted Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton to pay a two-week visit to the army at Savannah. Accompanying him on the trip was Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs. Satisfied at Sherman's Negro policy, Stanton and Meigs returned to Washington on Jan. 25. Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:244-52.

⁷¹ Ewing was evidently a kinsman of Mrs. Malcom.

⁷² The Third Division of Logan's XV Corps was composed predominantly of troops from Illinois and Ohio. The "Pioneer Corps" were engineers entrusted with building roads and laying bridges. The 7th Iowa was a part of the Fourth Division of the XV Corps.

Leader and feel sure that another victory will be the result of the coming Campaign.

Our Destination is as usual not known but I presume we will march on to Charleston, S.C.

We have just Received the news of the fall of Fort Fisher. It is glorious news. General Butler made a failure and the General in command of that Department has been quite successful. Our force captured 70 Guns and 1780 prisoners.⁷³

General John M. Corse is now *Brevet* Major General and is entitled to his two stars. The young man is quite proud of them. For my part I think Uncle Sam is piling it onto him rather thick. He is a good officer but I fear the two stars will spoil him.

I will endeavor to write to you as often as I can during the campaign. . . . I must now close for I will be kept busy until a late hour packing up.

Good night & believe me every your affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

Hd. Qrs. 7th Iowa V.V. Inft. In the
Field Near Fayetteville, N.C., March
13th 1865

My dear Wife,

We have once more arrived at a point where we can send off a mail and I hasten to write you a few lines to inform you that I am still alive and well. My health is as good as usual. I am almost worn out with the fatigue & hardships incident to a long campaign, but as soldiers are expected to undergo such hardships & privations, we stand it as soldiers should, and, I believe, as none but *true* soldiers can. We crossed the Savannah river on the evening of the 4th of Feby. and that night pitched our Tents for the first time on the "Sacred Soil" of South Carolina. Since then we have been pursuing the Enemy slowly and destroying the country as we passed through it.

Genl. Sherman met the Enemy in front of Columbia, S.C. on the 15th

⁷³ In Dec., 1864, Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler conducted a campaign against Fort Fisher, N. C., so replete with bungles and might-have-beens that the cross-eyed general was removed from command. Maj. Gen. Alfred H. Terry and his X Corps then moved on the fort in January and captured it and 2,083 defenders on Jan. 15. Howe, *Hitchcock*, 209-10.

of Feby.⁷⁴ Skirmished with him on the 15th & 16th. On the night of the 16th the City was evacuated, and by noon [of] the 17th the City was in our possession, the Iowa Brigade being the first troops to enter the place. On the night of the 16th our Division crossed the Saluda river and on the forenoon of the 17th the Broad river four miles above town, and at two P.M. marched through town with the 7th Iowa in front. We passed through in good order and camped one mile south east of the city on the Charleston R.R.

That night the city was Destroyed by fire (I am told contrary to the wishes of Genl. Sherman).⁷⁵ I visited the city on the 18th and witnessed a sight that I never will forget. Wish I could describe it to you, but as I cannot do the subject justice, will not make the attempt. Columbia was the finest city that I have seen in the south and contained about fifteen thousand Inhabitants. Thirty six blocks out of the heart of the city was burned to the ground and many other fine buildings in different portions of the town. All the public buildings were destroyed excepting the Churches and the New State House, which was not finished. The streets were filled with men, women & children begging for protection from the soldiers. Many of the buildings burned was filled with Rebel Army Stores that had been left behind in their hasty retreat. I cannot give you an idea of the amount of property destroyed; presum you will see an account published in the Northern papers which will give you more information than I can.

The troops were engaged on the 18th & 19th Destroying R.R.s and on the 20th we Resumed our march to the north western portion of the State. Met the Enemy again at Lynch Creek.⁷⁶ Routed him and resumed our

⁷⁴ The Federal advance on Columbia ground temporarily to a halt on Feb. 15 when Confederate cavalry under Wheeler put up a stiff but short fight with portions of the XV Corps at Broad River. Hopelessly outnumbered, the graycoats withdrew, and on Feb. 17 Mayor T. J. Goodwyn surrendered the city to Sherman.

⁷⁵ While many accounts have been written blaming first one faction and then another for the burning of Columbia, research tends to point the finger of guilt at Federal soldiers interested more in whiskey than in Sherman's orders strictly forbidding the wanton destruction of civilian property. See Smith, *7th Iowa*, 216-18; John G. Barrett, *Sherman's March through the Carolinas* (Chapel Hill, 1956), 80-89. Hereafter cited as Barrett, *Sherman's March*.

⁷⁶ On Feb. 26 Federal troops wading across the waist-deep waters of Lynch's Creek encountered unexpected trouble from Confederate cavalry under Lt. Gen. Wade Hampton. Brisk skirmishing ensued before the Confederates withdrew. In the affair two members of the 7th Iowa were mortally wounded, and a private in the 81st Ohio was shot seven times—but lived to brag about it. *Official Records*, Vol. XLVII, Part I, 229, 339, 343, 351.

march to Cheraw, where the Enemy was again routed.⁷⁷ The Army then crossed the Great Pedee river & moved eastward. Crossed the line into North Carolina on the 8th of March and on the 11th the 14th Corps arrived at this place, Drove the Enemy out and now occupy this city. Our Corps arrived here yesterday. We are in camp two miles from town.

We have communications open with Wilmington, but the river at this point is not large enough for Government transports to run up this far, so we will have to go to Goldsboro [Goldsboro] 70 miles from this place before the Army can be supplied with food & clothing. The army will move for Goldsboro in a few days, where we will probably remain for a few weeks to rest & recruit.

You must excuse this scribbling for I am writing on my Knee out in the wind. The weather now is quite pleasant but for the last two weeks it has rained all the time which made the roads awful bad. Be sure to write often & give me all the news. Remember me to all & Believe me Ever Your Affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

Near Goldsboro N.C., Mar. 25th '65

My dear Wife,

I have only time this morning to write you a few lines. We arrived here last evening at dark and am quite busy today getting our camp in a comfortable condition. General Sherman has issued his Congratulatory Order in which he says we will have a short season of rest preparatory to embarking on new and untried dangers.⁷⁸ So I suppose we will remain here a few weeks at least.

I wrote you on the 13th at Fayetteville which I presume you have received by this time. Since then the Army has had a hard time of it. We have been on short rations and many of the men are *bare foot*. General Sherman encountered the combined forces of Bragg, Hardee, Johnson & Fitz-Hugh Lee on the 19th, 20th & 21st at Bentonville on their own Ground. Whipped them & pursued them across the Neuse River. The

⁷⁷ Three small engagements occurred in the vicinity of Cheraw before the city was formally occupied by Federal troops on Mar. 3. See *ibid.*, 381, 391, 674, 1045, 1052.

⁷⁸ Sherman's Special Field Orders No. 35, issued from Bentonville on Mar. 22, expressed the General's appreciation of the efforts put forth to date by the men, and it closed with the statement: "You shall now have rest and all the supplies that can be brought from the rich granaries and store-houses of our magnificent country before again embarking on new and untried dangers." *Ibid.*, 44.

Enemy left the field on the 21st leaving the dead & wounded in our possession. I cannot give you the particulars of the Battle as I do not know them myself. The 14th Corps Lost in Killed, wounded & missing about 800 men; do not know the Loss of any of the other Corps.⁷⁹ The Enemy left in the direction of the Capital of the State & it is probable that will be their next stopping place.

I must close. Please excuse Haste & write often to your Ever affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

P.S. I did not think to mention that my health is as good as could be expected after a campaign of fifty six days & marching near five hundred miles.⁸⁰

Near Goldsboro N.C., Mar. 29th '65

My dear Wife,

I have in the last three days Received six of your kinde and welcom letters and I assure you they were welcom visitors, for I never in my life wanted news as bad as I did on our arrival at this place. I had been over two months without a line [from] you. . . .

I am feeling much better than I did on our arrival at this place. I was not sick but the Campaign was a very hard one and I was almost worn out. We were fifty six days out from Savannah to Goldsboro, and a great portion of the time wading swamps, sometimes knee deep, and often to our necks. I am surprised that the men stood the trip as well as they did. The Campaign from Rome to Savannah was fun compared with the one just ended. The country that the Army passed through was rather poor but every thing was taken that would be of use to the Army, and in almost all cases the buildings and fences were burned, leaving almost all of the citizens in a destitute condition.

⁷⁹ The battle of Bentonville proved to be the last victory for Johnston's skeleton Army of Tennessee. On Mar. 19 the Confederates withstood an attack by Sherman's Left Wing, counterattacked and sent the XIV Corps reeling in confusion back to the support of the XX Corps. On the following day Johnston's force hurled back assaults on both its flanks, then retired from the field on Mar. 21. Confederate losses were 2,600 out of 18,000 engaged. Sherman reported casualties of 1,527, of which 886 came from the XIV Corps. *Ibid.*, 71-73; Jay Luvaas, "Johnston's Last Stand — Bentonville," *North Carolina Historical Review*, 33:332-58 (June, 1956).

⁸⁰ The army trudged 425 miles from Savannah in what Sherman termed "one of the longest and most important marches ever made by an organized army in a civilized country." Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:306.

We succeeded in getting plenty of forage by sending out organized foraging parties in charge of a Commissioned Officer. It was then a dangerous business for the Country was at all times full of Guerrillas. Our foragers were often found in the woods with their throats cut from ear to ear. The Enemy killed all of our men that they caught foraging. You had better believe *this childe kept close to the road*. I thought it best to live on Government Rations than to run the risk of being Captured. The destruction of property was not so great in North as it was in South Carolina. The soldiers had some vengeance against that State and it seemed impossible to hold them in Check. In fact I do not think the Commanding Generals cared much.

I believe I told you in my letter of the 13th about the burning of Columbia. It seems hard that people should be treated in that way but I cannot sympathize with them.

The 7th Iowa [is] in camp one mile East of town on the New Bern R.R. The Road is in good order; there is from Eight to ten trains pass up each day Loaded with Army Stores and about the same number pass down to New Bern, Loaded with Refugees and Discharged Soldiers.

We are now drawing full Rations which is the first time since leaving Savannah.

I must now close. Please Excuse bad writing & all mistakes. . . . Remember me to all my friends. Give my love to Mother & Mary. Write often & Believe me Ever Your Affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

Goldsboro, April 6th 1865

My dear Wife,

I Received your kinde letter of the 20th & 21st of March last week and would have answered it immediately but was not able. I did not mention in my last letter to you that I was badly poisoned; thought at that time that it was not worthwhile to mention so small a thing, but since then I have concluded that it is no small matter to be poisoned. I have been sick with it for six days. This morning is the first time that I have had a pen in my fingers since the 2nd of the month.

My hands & face have both been badly swollen, was blind with it for one day & night; am much better now. My face is almost well but my hands are very sore and are yet badly swollen. Could not get anything

until yesterday to relieve me. Think now that I will be well in a few days. I hav no Idea how I got poisoned; presum I got it from the poison Ivy that grows in the swamps in this country. Several others in the Regiment hav the same Disease, among [them] Geo Rollett,⁸¹ but none hav had it as bad as I. Otherwise my health is good and I think in a few days time I will be able to inform you of my entire recovery.

Do wish I could see you once more. The time is beginning to pass slowly, but their is no alternative. The only consolation that I have is the belief that the war will not last my time out. It is reported in camp that we will start on another Campaign the 10th of this month. I do not think we will start so soon as that but the Army will probably be in motion by the 15th and then our watchword will be "on to Richmond."

Remember me to all our friends. Give my love to your Mother & Mary. Be sure to write often; giv me all the news & Believe me as Ever your Affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

Near Goldsboro N.C., April 8th 1865

My dear Wife,

I wrote you day before yesterday in which I believe I gave you all the news that is afloat in this section of the country. A few hours after mailing the letter to you we Recd. the news of the fall of Richmond.⁸² Is not that glorious news? The soldiers are having a good time over it, and I suppose our friends in the north are as well pleased over it as we are. Recd. Genl. Grants official Dispatch Last night & it will be Read on Dress Parade this evening. Nearly everything looks encouraging & it is to be hoped the war is hastening to an end.

General Shermans army will probably be on the move again in the course of a week. Our future destination is not known, but he will doubtless move on to Genl. Lee, who is now massing his forces near Danville.⁸³

⁸¹ George Rollett of Fort Madison suffered wounds at Corinth, Miss., and Dallas, Ga., before his promotion to first sergeant in Nov., 1864.

⁸² Following the battle of Five Forks on Apr. 1, Lee abandoned the Richmond defenses, and the city was occupied by Federals on the morning of Apr. 3.

⁸³ At that time Lee's army was moving southwestward to Danville, Va., where he hoped to rendezvous with Johnston's forces retreating northward from Raleigh. Pres. Jefferson Davis, his cabinet and several government bureaus were already at the temporary capital. See A. J. Hanna, *Flight into Oblivion* (New York, 1938), 15-21.

There is work to be done and that quickly, and when there is Campaigning to be done, *Uncle Billy* is always on hand.⁸⁴ His army is now in good condition, having had two weeks rest & drawn a good supply of clothing.

I was not much surprised at what you wrote about Col. Harper.⁸⁵ You know that I never thought him an honest man. I wish the Authorities would confiscate all the money and then *Dishonorably* dismiss him from the service, which I think will be the result of a proper Investigation.

I will write you again before we start if I have time. You must be sure to write often. Direct as before to your affectionate husband

Frank Malcom

Morrisville N.C., April 19th 1865

My dear Wife,

Was compelled to ride in an ambulance for three days during our March from Goldsboro to this place; was too weak to walk. Am now as strong and feel as well as ever.

We are all feeling good over the glorious news. Our Army moved from Goldsboro on the 10th and on the afternoon of the 12th we Recd. the news of *Lees Surrender*.⁸⁶ On the 13th Raleigh was captured and on the forenoon of the 14th our corps (the 15th) marched through the city in *Grand Review*.⁸⁷ By the way, Raleigh is one of the nicest places that I ever saw. It is not so large as Columbia was, but it is a much handsomer place.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Gen. Sherman acquired a variety of nicknames from both sides during the war. His men generally called him "Uncle Billy" and "Cump," the latter an abbreviation of his middle name, Tecumseh.

⁸⁵ Malcom apparently was referring to James P. Harper of Fort Madison. Appointed captain of Co. D in 1861, Harper had become lieutenant colonel of the 1st Tennessee Colored Artillery in 1863.

⁸⁶ Cut off from Danville by the rapid encirclement of Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's forces, Lee surrendered the remnants of his army to Grant at Appomattox on Apr. 9.

⁸⁷ Several reviews were staged in Raleigh — and were not always marked by dignified formality. A colonel in the XV Corps turned a bright crimson when, just as he rode past Gen. Sherman and presented a stiff salute, his horse "did some of the finest kicking that ever was seen." Barrett, *Sherman's March*, 255.

⁸⁸ Malcom was not alone in his praise of Raleigh. Another Federal wrote: "Perhaps there is no town of the same population in the South that affords so many evidences of wealth, elegance and social refinement. . . . Beautiful Raleigh!" George W. Pepper, *Personal Recollections of Sherman's Campaign in Georgia and the Carolinas* (Zanesville, Ohio, 1866), 388.

On the morning of the 15th our Division resumed their march to this place; a distance of twenty miles.

On the 16th & 17th Genl. Sherman and Genl. Jo. Johns[t]on were in consultation in Regard to the surrender of Johnsons Army, which is about fifteen miles north west of this place.⁸⁹ Yesterday, the 18th, the Consultation was renewed and Last night at 9 Oclock we Recd. the news that Johnson had surrendered and that *Jeff Davis* had also surrendered the whole of the Confederacy. This we hope is true but it yet lacks confirmation, but their is no doubt but Johnsons Army, which embraces Georgia, South & North Carolina, has been surrendered to Sherman. On what terms we do not know. This is glorious news for us poor, tired & foot sore Soldiers.

Really it begins now to look like we would once more see the faces of the loved ones at home — and yet while we rejoice over our national victories we cannot but feel sad when we think of the death of our beloved President and that too by the hand of an assassin.⁹⁰ We Recd. the Sad news on the afternoon of the 17th while Genl. Sherman & Johnson were arranging terms of peace. I cannot describe to you the change that came over us all. We did not then care whether Johnson giv up or not, but I assure you it is a good thing for this Country that he did, for if Shermans Army had been compelled to follow him through this country their line of march would have been marked for years to come by the destruction of everything that they came in contact with.

I must now close; will write you again in a few days. Remember me to all. I now hope that I will return home to you before the summer ends. Pleas write often to Your Affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

Near Raleigh N.C., April 23rd 1865

Dear wife,

I have Glorious news for you this morning, but I suppose you have heard it all before this time. I wrote you from Morrisville on the 19th in

⁸⁹ Johnston initiated the preliminaries of surrender with a letter to Sherman on Apr. 14. The two commanders then began discussions at a farmhouse near Durham three days later. See Sherman, *Memoirs*, 2:346-47; *Official Records*, Vol. XLVII, Part III, 234.

⁹⁰ On the evening of Apr. 14, while attending a comedy at Washington's Ford Theater, Lincoln was mortally wounded by a fanatic Southerner and frustrated actor, John Wilkes Booth.

which I stated that Genl. “Joe” Johns[t]on had surrendered his Army to Genl. Sherman and that it was reported that Davis had Given up the Confederacy, but at that time the report lacked confirmation. It is now known to be true and we have been Officially Informed that on the 19th inst. John C. Brackenridge, the Rebel “Sect. of War,” surrendered the Southern Confederacy from the Atlantic to the Pacific to General W. T. Sherman.⁹¹ Johnsons Army was immediately paroled and the treaty of Peace sent to Washington for Rattification. All hostilities have ceased and the *paroled* rebel soldiers & our men now mingle with each other as if they had always been friends.

Our Division mooved back from Morrisville on the 21st. We are now in camp two miles north west of Raleigh. We have a nice camp and are all as happy as larks. Their is nothing official yet in regard to the mustering out of troops but it is Generaly believed by officers high in rank that this Army will be disbanded within two months time. I hope *my dear* that I will be able to spend the 4th of July with you.

I must now close. . . . You must excuse my bad writing this morning as I hav a very poor steel pen. Hoping that I will be with you in a very short time, I Remain as ever your affectionate Husband.

Frank Malcom

Near Raleigh N.C., April 25th 1865

My dear Wife,

I Received Your kinde letter of the 11th inst. last week and answered it immediately. At that time I thought I had quite a lot of good news but I finde now that I must take a part of it back. I mean the part in regard to my getting home by the fourth of July. Next, the terms of peace agreed upon by Genl. Sherman & the Rebel Authorities on the 18th hav not been Rattified by our new President & his cabinet, so we are to again Resume the *war path*.⁹² The 14th, 20th & 17th corps have moved out and our

⁹¹ Malcom's exhilaration was premature. Moreover, Maj. Gen. John C. Breckinridge, who had served for a time as Confederate Secretary of War, was called into the discussions strictly for legal counseling. Sherman took the credit for the writing of the surrender document. *Ibid.*, 243-44.

⁹² Sherman's initial terms of surrender, while fair enough for a man of Lincoln's humanity, were far too lenient for the Radical Republicans and their military spokesman, Secretary of War Stanton. The term were overruled in Washington; Sherman and Johnston resumed their discussions and reached an approved agreement of capitulation on Apr. 26.

Corps has orders to move tomorrow. Our destination is not known, but we will no doubt go to the front, and if we are going to try to Run down the Rebel leaders we in my opinion will have a summers job of it. I feel very much disappointed over the news but it will do no good to complain. Will do my best to live through it.

Was in hopes the war was over and that I coould get Home soon. I am getting sick of the service and especially the 7th Iowa *with our present commander*. He is a disgrace to the Regiment, is drunk more than half the time.⁹³

General U. S. Grant & General [George G.] Mead[e] are here. I had the pleasure of seeing the Lieutenant General today for the first time.

Love to all & Believe me Ever Your affectionate husband

Frank Malcom

Near Raleigh N.C., April 28th

My dear Wife,

You will see in the papers that I send you that Johnson has at last surrendered and that this Army will move again, The 23rd Army Corps will remain at & near this place to receive the Arms & parole Johnsons Army.

We have just Received Marching Orders. We move tommorrow at 9 A.M. and it is believed by all that we are going to Richmond [and] thence to Washington D.C. and unless something unusual turns up, will be sent from there to Iowa and mustered out.

This is a short letter but I must close. It is now quite late and I hav some office work to do yet before I can retire.

Good night & Believe me ever Your Affectionate husband

Frank Malcom

Camp Near Washington D.C., May 25th '65

My dear Wife,

I wrote you on the 21st inst. when in camp near Alexandria Va. informing you of our arrival there. Presum you have seen accounts of the *Grand Review* in Washington on the 23rd & 24th insts. that will give you

⁹³ Malcom's condemnation of Col. Parrott runs quite in contrast to those of other members of the regiment. See *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, 3:364-93 (Apr.-July, 1898).

a much better idea of the performance than I can give you this evening.⁹⁴ Hav not seen any of the papers myself but understand they all published very flattering accounts of it. Do hope they will give Shermans Army their *just dues*, but as their is such a disposition on the part of the Potomac Army to ridicule the Western Troops, I hav no Idea that they will hav justice done them.

We broke Camp on the 23rd and moved up near Washington & Bivouacked for the night. On the morning of the 24th at Daylight the Army was in motion as follows: 1st the 15th Corps; then the 17th, 20th & 14th. Crossed Long bridge, passed through the principle streets of the city & then down Pennsylvania Avinue past the Presidents Mansion, the Treasury Building & Capitol. I had the pleasure of seeing all the big men of the day. Did not hav time to visit the public buildings but entend to do so as soon as I can get a pass to visit the city.

Washington is a Beautiful place. It looks more like a Northern city than any that I hav seen since I left home. The Crowd was the largest that I ever saw at one time in my life. Do wish you could have been present. All *grog* shops were closed and evrything seemed to pass off to the satisfaction of all.

I am told by those who witnessed both reviews that Shermans Army marched better and was a much finer looking set of men than the Army of the Potomac. We had all of us Drawn new Clothing & fixed up a little, and I flatter myself that our sunburnt hands & faces did not make an *unfavorable comparison* with the white *cot[ton] Gloves & pale faces* of the Army of the James. The difference in the two armies is this: they have remained in camp & Lived well; we have marched, fought & gone Hungry, [and] Ended the war, and now they are not willing to admit that we are soldiers — call us Shermans Greasers, Slouch Hats, &c., & say they ended the war — *they* took Richmond — when evry sane man knows that if Sherman had not made his Campaign in the Carolinas that Richmond never would have fallen. It was *Sherman* and *Sheridan* that did the work, with Genl. Grant to Advise them.

We moved out from Review yesterday afternoon to our present Camp

⁹⁴ The Army of the Potomac passed in review through Washington on May 23; Sherman's army paraded down the streets on the following day. For a comparison of the appearance of the two, see U. S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (2 vols., New York, 1885), 2:534-35.

three miles North West of the city, We will have when fixed up a very nice place. . . . I Hope it will not be long until their will be an order Issued sending us all Home. I believe yet that I will be home by the 4th of July.

It is now midnight & I must retire. Will write again soon. Love to all & Be sure to write often to Your Affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

Camp near Louisville, Ky.

June 14th 1865

My dear Wife,

It is now reported in camp that we are going to St. Louis Mo. I do not believe the report *but hope it is true* for then I can get home without any trouble. We are all very anxious to get out of the Service. [We] feel that we hav done all that we agreed to do and now should be sent Home. Our dreams by night and our conversation by day revolve around that central pivot. We have been told by Generals and newspapers that we were on our Journey home. "The War Is Over." Our work is accomplished. We have borne toil and hardships and danger without murmuring whilst an armed foe remained, but now that peace is restored we wish to go back to Civil Life. We wish to enjoy some of the benefits of that peace which we have conquered. For my part I am for the first time since my Soldier life began beginning to get "home-sick," but trust this will not last long.

Remember me to all our friends, love to your Mother & Mary & Believe me as Ever Your Affectionate Husband

Frank Malcom

On July 12, 1865, Quartermaster Sergeant Frank Malcom was mustered out of military service at Louisville, Kentucky.

MOVING THE WINNEBAGO INTO IOWA

*Edited by William J. Petersen**

The story of the moving of the Winnebago Indians into Iowa is replete with colorful episodes — both humorous and pathetic. The documents contained herein are from the Ayer Indian Collection housed by the Newberry Library in Chicago. They are written in longhand, the one by Governor Henry Dodge and the other the official record of the Secretary of the meetings held by General Henry Atkinson with the Winnebago Indians.

To understand the background of the negotiations which follow one must go back to August 19, 1825, when a treaty was signed at Prairie du Chien between the United States and the assembled representatives of the Chippewa, Sauk, Fox, Menominee, Winnebago, Ottawa, and Potawatomi Indians. No cession of land was involved, the main purpose of the treaty being to allow the United States to draw a line in what is now Iowa limiting the respective hunting grounds of two bitter foes — the Sioux on the north and the Sauk and Fox on the south.

The Treaty of 1825 drew a line commencing "at the mouth of the Upper Ioway River, on the west bank of the Mississippi, and ascending the said Ioway river, to its left fork; thence up that fork to its source; thence crossing the fork of Red Cedar River, in a direct line to the second or upper fork of the Des Moines river; and thence in a direct line to the lower fork of the Calumet river; and down that river to its juncture with the Missouri river." Two great Americans, William Clark and Lewis Cass, represented the United States in this treaty which created the famous Neutral Line in Iowa.

Five years later a second meeting was called at Prairie du Chien because it was plainly evident a thin line was an ineffective barrier against centuries of implacable hatred. On July 15, 1830, the second and third articles of a treaty between the United States and the confederated tribes of Sauk and Fox, western Sioux, Omaha, Oto, and Missouri Indians created the "Neutral Strip" or Neutral Ground. The Sauk and Fox agreed to surrender a

*William J. Petersen is Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

strip twenty miles wide on the south of the line established by the Treaty of 1825, while the Sioux ceded a similar amount to the north of it. Thus, there was created a neutral territory forty miles in width between the Mississippi River and the Des Moines River.

The creation of this neutral territory, or "Neutral Ground," did not throw open the above land to white settlement. Indeed, any possibility of entering it, which future settlers might have anticipated, was extinguished by the Treaty of September 15, 1832, when the Winnebago were granted the eastern portion of the "Neutral Strip" in exchange for their lands in Wisconsin, title to which had been extinguished by the Treaty of 1829 at Prairie du Chien. The Treaty of 1832 was to take effect on June 1, 1833.

The Winnebago were loathe to move from their homes in Wisconsin — located largely in the Prairie du Chien area, around Fort Winnebago at present-day Portage, and on the Rock River. Only a handful reluctantly moved across the Mississippi and very few children attended the Winnebago school that had been set up for them.

Finally, on November 1, 1837, a treaty was signed in Washington "between Carey A. Harris, thereto specially directed by the President of the United States [Martin Van Buren], and the Winnebago nation of Indians, by their chiefs and delegates" whereby the said Winnebago agreed to remove from Wisconsin across the Mississippi into the Neutral Ground within eight months of the ratification of the Treaty. Furthermore, the Winnebago also agreed to "relinquish the right to occupy, except for the purpose of hunting" a twenty-mile stretch of the Neutral Ground beginning at the Mississippi and extending twenty miles westward. In consideration for this cession, and at the earnest solicitation of the Chiefs, the United States set \$200,000 apart to pay certain individuals with the remainder to be applied to the debts of the Winnebago nation. A second provision directed the President to pay \$100,000 to all relations of the Indians [half-breeds] having less than one quarter of Winnebago blood.

Next, the sum of \$7,000 was appropriated to help in the removal of the Winnebago to the lands assigned to them. The following provisions conclude the treaty of 1837:

Fourth. To deliver to the chiefs and delegates on their arrival at St. Louis, goods and horses to the amount of three thousand dollars (\$3,000); and, also, to deliver to them, as soon as practi-

cable after the ratification of this treaty, and at the expense of the United States goods to the amount of forty-seven thousand dollars (\$47,000).

Fifth. To deliver to them provisions to the amount of ten thousand dollars, (\$10,000); and horses to the same amount.

Sixth. To apply to the erection of a grist-mill, three thousand dollars, (\$3,000).

Seventh. To expend, in breaking up and fencing in ground, after the removal of the said Indians, ten thousand dollars (\$10,000).

Eighth. To set apart the sum of ten thousand dollars (\$10,000) to defray contingent and incidental expenses in the execution of this treaty, and the expenses of an exploring party, when the said Indians shall express a willingness to send one to the country southwest of the Missouri river.

Ninth. To invest the balance of the proceeds of the lands ceded in the first article of this treaty, amounting to eleven hundred thousand dollars (1,100,000,) and to guaranty to them an interest of not less than five per cent.

Of this interest amounting to fifty-five thousand dollars (\$55,000,) it is agreed the following disposition shall be made;

For purposes of education, twenty-eight hundred dollars (\$2,800).

For the support of an interpreter for the school, five hundred dollars, (\$500.)

For the support of a miller, six hundred dollars (\$600.)

For the supply of agricultural implements and assistance, five hundred dollars, (\$500.)

For medical services and medicines, six hundred dollars (\$600.)

The foregoing sums to be expended for the objects specified, for the term of twenty-two years, and longer at the discretion of the President. If at the expiration of that period, or any time thereafter, he shall think it expedient to discontinue either or all of the above allowances, the amount so discontinued shall be paid to the said Winnebago nation. The residue of the interest, amounting to fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000,) shall be paid to said nation, in the following manner; Ten thousand dollars (\$10,000) in provisions, twenty thousand dollars (\$20,000) in goods, and twenty thousand dollars (\$20,000) in money.

ARTICLE 5th. It is understood and agreed that so much of the stipulations in existing treaties with said Winnebago nation, as

requires services to be performed, supplies furnished, or payments made, at designated times and places, shall be henceforth null and void; and those stipulations shall be carried into effect at such times and at such points in the country to which they are about to remove, as the President may direct.

ARTICLE 6th. This treaty to be binding on the contracting parties when it shall be ratified by the United States.

The above treaty was signed on November 1, 1837, by C. A. Harris and the following Winnebago chiefs and witnesses:

Watch-hat-ty-kah, (Big Boat,
 Keesh-kee-pa-kah, (Kar-i-mo-nee,)
 Mo-ra-chay-kah, (Little Priest,)
 Ma-na-pay-kah, (Little Soldier,)
 Wa-kaun-ha-kah, (Snake Skin,)
 Ma-hee-koo-shay-nuz-he-kah,
 (Young Decor,)
 Wa-kun-cha-koo-kah, (Yellow
 Thunder,)
 Wa-kaun-kah, (The Snake,)
 Wa-kun-cha-nic-kah, (Little
 Thunder,)
 Nautch-kay-suck-kah, (Quick
 Heart,)
 Mai-ta-sha-hay-ma-ne-kah,
 (Young Kar-i-mo-nee,)
 Wa-kaun-ho-no-nic-kah, (Little
 Snake,)
 Hoong-kah, (Old Chief,)
 To-shun-uc-kah, (Little Otter,)
 Sho-go-nic-kah, (Little Hill,)
 Homp-ska-kah, (Fine Day,)
 Chow-walk-saih-e-nic, (The Plover,)
 Ah-oo-shush-kah, (Red Wing,)
 Shoog-hat-ty-kah, (Big Gun,)
 Ha-kah-kah, (Little Boy Child.)

In presence of Thos. A. B. Boyd, U. S. S. Ind. Ag't. N. Boilvin, Antoine Grignon, Jean Roy, Interpreters. Joseph Moore, J. Brisbois, Sat. Clark, jr., Conductors. Alexis Bailly. H. H. Sibley, Agent Am. Fur. Co. John Lowe. John M'Farlane. W. Gunton. T. R. Cruttenden. Charles E. Mix. A. R. Potts. Rd. L. Mackall.

To the Indian names are subjoined a mark.

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR HENRY DODGE

April 1840

My Winnebago children.

Your Great Father the President of the United States¹ has sent his War chief General Atkinson² to remove his children the Winnebagoes to their country west of the Mississippi. — I hope you will listen to his words that they will not pass in at one ear and out at the other but will sink deep in your hearts and be held in remembrance by you. — If you remove peaceably to your country you will comply with your treaty made at Washington with your Great Father who will protect you from the attacks of other Indians. You will go to a country that abounds in Deer and other game: — You will have troops stationed near you; and your good Father Mr Lowry, your Agent, will extend the hand of friendship to you and your children; he will live in your country near you where you will receive your annuities, from the United States: Your Great Father the President will hold you strong by the hand if you do right: the bright chain of friendship will remain unbroken and, the Winnebagoes may become a prosperous and happy people. — Should the Winnebagoes refuse to remove to their country they will forfeit their annuities and bring misery and misfortune on themselves, their women and children, and will be compelled by the War

¹ Martin Van Buren.

² Henry Atkinson was born in North Carolina in 1782. He entered the army on July 1, 1808, as a captain of the 3rd Infantry, and was made a colonel of the 45th Infantry on April 15, 1814. In 1819 Atkinson commanded the "Yellowstone expedition" up the Missouri past present-day Iowa. In September of that year (1840) he established camp Missouri, later Fort Atkinson and still later Fort Calhoun, a short distance above where Omaha now stands. On his return to St. Louis, Atkinson was made a Brigadier General. He selected the site for the historic post of Jefferson Barracks in 1826, and subsequently made it his home. Learning of a serious outbreak among the Winnebago in July of 1827, he hastened to Prairie du Chien and, by a swift concentration of troops, restored peace. General Atkinson was in general command of the troops during the Black Hawk War and was in immediate command on the second days' fight at Bad Axe.

In 1840, he supervised the earlier stages of the removal of the Winnebagoes from Wisconsin to the Neutral Ground in present-day Iowa. The following spring, on May 31, a post was established which was named Fort Atkinson in his honor. The documents contained herein reveal General Atkinson as a firm, courageous negotiator, who did not mince his words. He spent the remainder of his days at Jefferson Barracks where he died on June 14, 1842. Henry Atkinson was an outstanding general whose contributions to the conquest of the American frontier have been "equaled in importance by that of no contemporary with the possible exception of William Clarke."

Chief to remove from this side of the Mississippi — he has power from your Great Father to call as many men into the field as will oblige the Winnebagoes to comply with their treaty. — The war chief is kind to the Red skins but his duties will always be performed, he will have my aid and support to carry into effect his instructions from your Great Father — You have good and evil before you and the choice is left to yourselves — I have always been the friend of the Winnebagoes — I have never deceived them — I have held you strong by the hand — but if you refuse to comply with the wishes of the President of the United States, as expressed by his War chief all good men will be opposed to you and will unite to compel you to do right. — Let no evil advisers or bad men advise you to do wrong — do right that you may have a smooth road to travel and a clear sky to sleep under that the Great Spirit may be pleased with his red children the Winnebagoes.

(Signed) Henry Dodge³

COUNCIL HELD WITH THE WINNEBAGOES ON THE 1ST MAY 1840 AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

Gen. Atkinson opened the council by saying — I am glad to see the chiefs of the Winnebagoes here, and regret that Win-ne-shick⁴ and the

³ Henry Dodge was born at Post Vincennes in 1781. After a brief sojourn in Kentucky he moved to Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, where he was active in military and political affairs. In 1827, he removed to the lead mining area of southwestern Wisconsin. Henry Dodge was a colonel of the United States Dragoons and proved such an admirable soldier that President Andrew Jackson appointed him Governor of the newly-created Territory of Wisconsin in 1836. After Iowa was separated from Wisconsin in 1838, Henry Dodge continued as Governor. He was an able negotiator with the Indians and took a leading role in effecting the removal of the Winnebago from Wisconsin into the Neutral Ground in 1840. For further information see Louis Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley* (SHSI, 1917) and Pelzer's *Henry Dodge* (SHSI, 1911). For a briefer account of his career see William J. Petersen, "Henry Dodge," in *The Palimpsest*, 19:41-49.

⁴ Winneshiek County is named for this Winnebago Chief. His true Indian name, according to A. R. Fulton, was *Wau-kon-chaw-koo-kah*, or Yellow Thunder. His name appears as *Wau-kaun-tshaw-zee-kaw* on the Treaty of 1829 and as *Wa-Kun-cha-koo-kah* on the Treaty of 1837. Because he had joined Black Hawk he apparently was not permitted to sign the Treaty of 1832. According to Fulton: "Both physically and intellectually he was a remarkably fine specimen of his race. He was above the medium height, finely proportioned, easy and graceful in his manner, and was indeed the most accomplished and handsome man in the tribe. As a man he was modest, kind and courteous; as a chief, dignified, firm and just in the exercise of his authority. . . . In the transaction of business with the government of the

one eyed De-cor-ree⁵ are absent — I was anxious to meet them here. I am glad to learn that you are willing to emigrate across the Mississippi in accordance with the stipulations of yr last treaty with the United States — I have been sent here by yr great Father to explain to you, what is to yr interest — I have read the treaty over carefully, and find it very advantageous to you — I shall erect a Military Post⁶ at a Point which will be hereafter selected on Turkey river, and place a sufficient number of troops there for your protection. In a day or two I shall send out a party, to examine the Country and select a site, and am desirous that you should select some one in whom you repose confidence, to accompany that party, — Your Great Father has sent a large and ample supply of provisions here for your use — You have seen at Painted Rock a large steam-Boat loaded with provisions for you. — There is now another lying at the landing, which will be sent to Painted Rock⁷ to discharge its freight.

I am extremely sorry to hear that some of the chiefs of the Portage bands⁸ have expressed an unwillingness to come and go over also — They shall not receive a pound of the provisions or a dollar of the money allowed them by Government, until they do come down and cross the river

United States he was suspicious, obstinate and faithless. As a politician he was crafty and cautious; as a warrior, brave in battle, and calm and self-reliant in danger. From his childhood he cherished a feeling of hostility toward the Americans, and twice took up arms against them."

⁵ The town of Decorah in Winneshiek County is named for this Winnebago chief. Fulton calls him Waukon-Decorah, meaning "White Snake." His name appears on the Treaty of 1825 as *De-ca-ri*. It does not appear on the treaties of 1829, 1832, and 1837. His son, Young Decorah (One-Eyed Decorah), does appear on the Treaty of 1837 spelled *Ma-hee-koo-shay-nuz-he-kah*. According to Fulton: "Waukon-Decorah was the patriarch of the tribe, and in 1842, was described as being much bent by reason of his age, and as walking with a feeble and tottering step. He was a man of small stature, being only about five feet in height. At the date last mentioned he was about eighty-one years old, and was then quite bald, having only a few long gray locks falling from the sides and back part of his head. When he visited Washington it was remarked that he bore a striking resemblance to Stephen Girard, the once great Philadelphia banker."

Waukon-Decorah was friendly to the whites. After the removal of the Winnebago into Iowa he set up his village near the present town of Decorah on the Upper Iowa River. His remains were interred in the public square at Decorah.

⁶ Fort Atkinson (1840-1848) now being restored in part by the State Conservation Commission.

⁷ At the mouth of the Yellow River about six miles above Prairie du Chien.

⁸ Fort Winnebago (1828-1845) was located where the Wisconsin and Fox rivers approach each other at present-day Portage, Wisconsin.

— and if they persist in not doing it — the provisions and the money shall be given to those who do cross the river.

It is my wish that you should understand distinctly what I say in reference to the portage Indians.

I shall use all means in my power to make them go over peaceably, and shall resort to force only at the last extremity — It would pain my heart much to use force against your brothers up there — But I have been ordered to move them — and go they must if they wont go peaceably I shall use force & make them go — I have nothing more to say just now after you have spoken. I shall have a talk to make to Dandy to carry talk to the Portage Indians — I want you to send and advise yr brothers to emigrate — It would be painful and troublesome to send a large military force, also mounted militia up there to make them — It would be extremely distressing to their families

*Gull*⁹ — Father, & Brothers we are glad to shake hands with you this beautifull day the Great Spirit has made for us — Father we have heard all yr words — To yr talk we cannot give any direct answer, for as you remark all our chiefs are not in council — Before we met you to day we have heard the words you have spoken to us — We remember distinctly all that our Great Father has ever spoken or written to us — We have heard you, Father, speak frequently — We have had two great talks with you in this place — We remember what you said in those talks — since then we have been to see our Great Father and have heard the words spoken from his own mouth — But after hearing those talks and the talk of our Great Father we are unable to understand yr talk this evening — When we were in council, you shoke us by the hand — and said you pitied us much — and that our Great Father would do every thing in his power to help us — When we were about to leave our Great Father he told us — Go home and take care of yr families — And that he hoped he would never hear any thing bad of us nor we of him — The chiefs of our nation heard their great Father talk with pleasure, returned to their villages, and told it to their people all were glad to hear it — Since then our Great Father has never heard any thing bad from the Winnebagoes — they have never done any thing which should make him change his course

⁹ *Gull*, or *Gule*, appears to be a newcomer among the Winnebago orators who apparently was not active in previous treaties.

towards them — Our Great Father then said, return to yr villages, and remain there for thirty years — I will send yr annuities to you — although we cannot read or write we recollect the words of our Great Father — you who can read must recollect them —

Gen Atkinson — Tell Dandy I understand he is a great orator, and wish him to speak freely, and say what is his opinion and that of his villages —

Dandy¹⁰ — Father we shake hands today in friendship — I have been wishing to see you for some time — You have heard me speak before — I have a strong voice although small body — Since a boy I have spoken much — The Great Spirit has given me a strong voice reason why I speak so loud — Father you have come a long way to talk with us, our young men & old men have also come a long way — We will have a long and a good talk to morrow — Neither you nor my Great Father has ever heard any thing bad of me —

Gen Atkinson — I am sorry to hear, Dandy, that when in council with your agent Mr. Lowery¹¹ at Fort Winnebago, Lellow Thunder¹² and yrself expressed a determination not to come here, to hold a council — I was sorry to hear it — The words your Great Father sent to me were full of peace — if you went over quietly — Looking over the treaty I find the names of Yellow Thunder and little Soldier affixed to it — Yr great father will be much surprised to find that the very men who made the treaty are now unwilling to comply with it. Yr great Father in telling me to take you over quietly — has also said if you refuse to go I must make you go — I am not permitted to exercise any discretion — You have got sense enough to understand what my duty is — I have already collected together some troops here, and, if the Portage Indians do not

¹⁰ Dandy, whose Indian name was Waw-pa-no-dah, throughout his life was an implacable foe of the Americans. In 1825 he had been a ringleader in stirring up hostilities against the whites. He was still doing it in 1840 and he proved equally obstinate in the removal of the Winnebago from Iowa in 1848. He was the recognized orator among the Winnebago in matters of policy but seldom appeared among the whites.

¹¹ Reverend David Lowry, a Presbyterian minister, was appointed by President Andrew Jackson as a teacher for the Winnebago. He arrived in Prairie du Chien in 1834 and opened the school the following year. He conducted a Winnebago Indian school near the mouth of the Yellow River and later near Fort Atkinson in Winneshek County.

¹² Yellow Thunder, *Wau-kon-chaw-koo-kah*, or Winneshiek.

come in I shall go up to Fort Winnebago, — If they do not then come in — I shall call upon my Brother here, Gov Dodge for some of his people and will hunt them up — I shall also give orders that they shall not receive any of the provisions or annuities — they may depend upon it — as sure as there is a Great Spirit above — When the time came for them to move last year they said they were not ready. Yr Great Father indulged them until now — He will indulge them no longer — Take the words I have spoken back to yr people — Tell them if they persist in their determination — and wish to starve their women and children — the suffering and distress that will ensue — and the blood that will flow will be upon their own heads, not mine — The goods and provisions that came for them last year are now in a storehouse here for them, when they come down — They will also get their proportion of the provisions that have just come — provided they emigrate — If they compel me I will fill that country with troops, and hunt them up in every corner and hole — I speak the truth not to frighten you — but that you may tell yr people — You have heard me speak before, and have never — heard me speak any thing but the truth —

I have sent for a deputation of Sauk and expect them soon — I wish you to make up the quarrel now existing between you I shall station Dragoons in yr new Country and hope you will have no further difficulties with them — Your Great Father has appointed Mr. Lowery your agent — he is a good man and holds council with the Great Spirit — He prays for the Red Man as well as the white man — In yr Council to night I wish you to fix upon some one to accompany Mr Lowery and some officers whom I will send to fix upon a site for a Post — I wish you to select a place to settle upon —

Gull — You have spoken of the Sauk difficulties, to-morrow we will tell you upon what conditions we will make peace —

Gen Atkinson — I wish you to see the Sauk chiefs and arrange it with them —

Gull — We have nothing to say to them, and do not see what they can possibly have to say to us —

Council on 2nd of May —

Gen. Atkinson — Ask Gull if he told Win-no-shick of the talk I gave him yesterday —

Answer — Yes —

Gen Atkinson — you have slept upon what I said yesterday, and were to inform me this morning what you thought of it — I am now ready to hear you — Gov Dodge, your agent & myself act together, if you speak to me on any subject you speak to all — Your great Father at Washington sent me here & directed me to call upon Gov Dodge and yr agent to act with me — When you speak I wish only to speak about what relates to the last treaty, and not as you did yesterday — Go back a number of years — Speak as soon as you are ready —

Gull — We promised yesterday to give a positive answer to day — Yesterday you said whatever you might say to us was the truth and we will speak nothing but the truth to day — Some of you have heard me say before that I am no chief — I am a warrior, a brave man, my fathers were all war chiefs, none peace chiefs, like the chiefs in this council — You tell us to speak of things since 37 — We intend doing so — I shall now repeat a part of what I said yesterday — That when he saw his great Father time before the last, he said he pitied us very much, we were very weak — He was very strong — He wished now to speak in relation to one subject brought before them yesterday — The others would answer questions, — Father, you know Indians are accustomed to make long talk be patient and do not get tired of hearing us — Father, when we saw our Great Father, he said whenever one white man killed another, the life of the murderer was always taken — and he told us whenever one red man killed another, he would always protect the injured — He said, “I have taken the tomahawk from you and buried it deep — and I will punish the first who takes it up severely — Father — the Winnebagoes remembered the words of their Great Father — have obeyed them, and have never taken up the tomahawk — It still remains buried where our Great Father buried it — but one has been taken up against us — Now for the fulfillment of the promise of our Great Father — our Great Father has certainly before this heard of the murders, and learned the names of the Indians who perpetrated them — You, father, know how many times we have suffered before — our women were killed on an Island in sight of the Fort — others were killed on Turkey river in sight of white settlements — After our women were first murdered — our Great Father sent the pipe to us — several nations were present — peace was made — and our Great Father said whatever nation first broke that peace should be like the ashes from our pipes

—scattered to the winds — It has been only ten years since peace was thus made — Gov Dodge was present at the time — murders have been again committed & the Sauk Indians should now suffer — Our agent wrote to our great Father about it — he answered — He pitied us much — We exspect to hear something more from our great Father today through you

Gen. Atkinson — Sufficient time has not yet elapsed, for an account of the murders to go, on to Washington, and yr great Father to write to me —

Gull Father we would like to know how our Great Father would wish us to settle our difficulties with the Sauk — we have already made peace several times, and it has been as often broken —

Gen. Atkinson — I cannot say until I hear from yr great Father

Gull — Father you said yesterday you had sent for the Sauk chiefs — They make very good speeches — we have heard them frequently — we will listen to you on the subject — but we do not wish to see the Sauks —

Gen. Atkinson — If when the Sauks arrive you do not wish to see them — I will send them back —

Gull — Glad to hear from Great Father on the subject — but we cannot believe any thing the Sacs say —

Gen. Atkinson Sacs bad men, and tell a great many lies —

Gull — We will wait to hear from our Great Father until the middle of summer — after that we will shut our ears — Before I sit down I would like to say one word to our father, — Gov Dodge — Father we have heard you speak frequently, & listen to you with pleasure — Some few years since you said to us you would like to borrow some of our young men — now we wish to borrow some of yours — I have nearly finished — when I have finished — The chiefs will answer questions, put yesterday — You Father (Gen Atkinson) say — that the Sac war party was from the Black Hawk band — we have heard you speak frequently pleasure — and as soon as you hear from Great Father we would like to hear what he has to say —

Gen. Atkinson — If the Sacs dont satisfy you by the middle of summer — Satisfy yr selves — Tis not my wish to tie up yr hands.

Gull — Our Great Father has no more obedient children than the Win-

nebagoes — and we think he ought to listen to our words at least once. If this difficulty is not settled before long we will have to raise the tomahawk, or if we cannot raise it — we will dare to make another — Father we will wait till middle of Summer if peace is not then made — we will try something else —

*Whirling Thunder*¹³ — The Great Spirit has permitted me to live many days — I am old, you must not expect to hear much from me — Before your war [Black Hawk War] with the Sacs — you had a council with the Winnebagoes, and there take me by the hand — and said you would always be my friend — That day you said — go to your country across the Mississippi, there is plenty of game there, and no one shall harm you — Contrary to our expectations our people have been murdered — Father in the beginning I said I would not say much — I am crying for my children that have been killed — Father we think as much of our children, as our Great Father does of his — and we dislike very much to see their scalps taken — I have finished, and whatever our young men say to day, you may rely upon its being an answer of the nation to yr questions of yesterday

*Little Priest*¹⁴ — The Great Spirit has willed we should meet in council to day — you will hear now what our chiefs think of the questions put yesterday — We talked about them for a long time last night — The chiefs of nearly all the bands are present in council — Father Great Spirit has given us land to place our villages upon — we believe that the great Spirit intended our villages to be sacred — and that when he first placed the Winnebagoes there he told them to live there and expected them to live there. Father ever since we first saw you — you know we have always listened to you with pleasure. The Great Spirit knows all things — He hears us now and provides for the Indians as well as for the white men — Father we have always heard yr words with pleasure — and have never disobeyed any, never thought of doing so — we have listened to you both in council with pleasure. As beautiful a day as it is — there is a cloud in at least

¹³ Whirling Thunder, whose Indian name was spelled *Wau-kaun-tshaw-way-keen-kaw* in the Treaty of 1829, spelled it *Wau-kaun-ween-kaw* in the Treaty of 1832. His name does not appear in the Treaty of 1837.

¹⁴ Little Priest's name was spelled *Mo-rab-tsbay-kaw* in the Treaty of 1832 and *Mo-ra-chay-kab* in the Treaty of 1837. He and Whirling Thunder were from the Rock River Winnebago deputations. When they moved into Iowa they set up their villages about fifteen miles west of the Winnebago school.

one quarter hanging over the Winnebagoes — Many years ago when on Rock river our friend Gov Dodge came — We like him then — and we still like him — He then said the Winnebagoes had a large place in his heart. — Two women had been taken by the Red men I brought them to him — He said he would always be my friend — we made peace — He said if it ever should be broken — must call upon him — Our Great Father once said that he held the hearts of his children together with a long string — if [it] was ever broken must complain to him — Our Father Gov Dodge shook hands with me then, and said he had but one heart one tongue — and that it must be so with me — we believed him — still do — When we saw our Great Father in Washington we repeated the same words to him — and our Great Father promised if any one injured us to protect us — When last to see our Great Father some one in house said we could not see him — but said to us in substance what our Great Father had said to us before — He also said that our Great Father thought a great deal of the Winnebagoes — He then related the circumstances of the two women having been taken from the Sacs — and said that alone would always give the Winnebagoes a large place in his heart — Father we suppose you have come here to day in council, to wish us to live long and be a happy people — I have one request to make of you to day, Father, and as you have always expressed a great deal of affection for me — you will, I know, grant it — It will not give you much trouble although it will be a great favor to me —

My heart is much pained from one circumstance, which you are aware of (one of his relatives had killed a man) when annuities come — I wish a box of money to settle it with — With reference Father to what you said yesterday, dont see why you wish me to go farther already west of the Mississipi near Turkey river — This is the best answer I can give to yr question — The other chiefs will now talk — One of our great chiefs Yellow Thunder is absent — I am sorry for it —

Gen. Atkinson then had that portion of the treaty by which the Indians promised not to locate their villages in the neutral ground nearer than twenty miles to the river explained to them — and said — I will send troops out on Turkey river to protect the Winnebagoes — They shall not be again injured by the Sacs if I can prevent it, if I catch any of the Sacs in yr country I will have them confined

Dandy — Show our hands to you, shake hands with great Spirit and our great Father — In council to day you may expect to hear what the Winnebagoes think — Father — I have a small body — am a small Indian, have a small heart — you see our bodies are not of the same colour as yours — The Great Spirit hears us talk — He has given us but one heart — one tongue — We speak like men before the Great Spirit — Father — you have seen me when small — long been accustomed to speaking — I speak much and no one has ever heard a bad word from me — Brothers — I have always tried to do what our Great Father wished me to do, have always done what he told me to do — Most of the head men at the [council] fires at the Portage are here — you hear nothing bad from any of them — Father — what I say to day I wish to say before the Great Spirit, who is not so far off, but that he can hear us — You all know that some years since I did much for yr people — We have heard of the difficulties of our Brothers here — we have taken no part in them not even looked their way — Our Great Father knows all the Portage chiefs well — Father, as you have heard this morning our Great Father has said when ever any of our limbs are cut off they shall be well covered up — Father, I intend doing every thing Great Father wishes me to do — I always have — We do not believe it is the wish of the Great Spirit that our limbs should be cut off — Our Great Father desires to carry out the wishes of the Great Spirit — We think much of our Father Gov. Dodge — from yr talk we fear that you have torn up many papers — We recollect well all we have ever heard — from our Fathers — we always speak the truth, and do not wish to lose any of the words — You have heard me say before I was a day[?] man I have painted my medal blue like the Sky — Father what we have heard at Washington we do not wish to be lost — Produces papers which he wishes read — we have another book which we wish you to see The book of the Great Spirit —

Gen. Atkinson — You say you have a small body and loud voice — You have been talking a long time and said nothing about what is before the council — You have a small body and it sounds very loud like an empty barrel — You have been talking about yr own deeds, and nothing about the treaty — I wish to know whether you & the chiefs are going to comply with the treaty or not — There are now two of yr chiefs present who signed that treaty Decorah [Decorah] & Kar-im-onee —

Dandy — The great spirit placed us at the villages we are now occupying — do not know whether they can be removed or not — we will talk about it now — We fear our Great Father says a great many different words to us not so with great Spirit — The Great Spirit hears our words, we wish our Great Father to hear them also — Our Great Father wishes our villages removed although we think much of the places where they now are — They can be removed — This is what I think — There is one thing which you must acknowledge is in our way —

Gen. Atkinson — I must have a positive answer to the question put — Do yr people intend complying with the Treaty or not —

Dandy — Father I have answered it before We will move to where two rivers come together on the other side of the Mississippi — That is the place we have fixed upon — We do not wish to fight. Some of our people talk of fighting —

Gen. Atkinson — You must go farther the treaty must be complied with — You are now the richest Indian nation — & I will not listen to one word on the subject — How can your Great Father believe one word you say now — Do you remember a talk you had with Gov. Dodge — in which you promise[d] to go this Spring — Now you talk about staying here — Is this the language men should use — Is it talking like men, like brave men — I believe Dandy you have a part in persuading these not to go — Dont believe yr heart is good, you have just said that yr heart is small (then [General Atkinson] repeats what he said yesterday about provisions and the annuities) If the chiefs still persist in not going — the blood that must flow will be upon their own heads not mine — Yr friend Gov. Dodge will now talk to you —

Gov. Dodge — Gov. Dodge then remarked that he had always been [in] the habit of talking to them without reducing his talk to writing but considering this a very important talk he had put it in writing (a copy of it will be found at the end of these proceedings)

Dandy — I have nothing different to say now from what I said before — The place I spoke of I thought I could persuade the Indians to go to — It is not so far.

Gen Atkinson — I will make them go —

Dandy — You may depend upon my doing all I can — The Indians would prefer coming on their horses to coming in canoes — I cannot persuade Rock river Indians —

Gen. Atkinson — Tell them I am no child their great Father relies upon me, and that I will do all he expects of me —

Gen Atkinson. Explains to them by the map where he wishes to locate the new Post & why —

Win-a-chick — Father — the land we are now upon belongs to our great Father — He has sent you here to move us, and I presume at yr request we must go — Father, I am now on the other side of the river — I wish to remain where I am now, and cultivate my fields — until our Brothers from above come down, and then go along with them — This I think, a reasonable request, and wish it granted —

Gen Atkinson — Granted — one crop — I am a great friend of the Winnebagoes and do not wish to do any thing to inconvenience them — But I am obliged to carry that treaty into effect — Dandy — how many men, women & children are there at the Portage — How would the bands like to move themselves and I pay them so much a head for it —

Dandy — rather have it that way — I request that Mr Tibbits will be employed to help us to move.

Gen Atkinson — Mr. Tibbits,¹⁵ Mr. Clarke¹⁶ & Capt Stone¹⁷ will all be employed —

Dandy — We also wish our Blacksmith to accompany us — and the house that was built for the agent at Fort Winnebago should be sold, and the money given to us —

Gen. Atkinson — I will consult with yr Great Father about it —

Dandy — We also want the cattle at the portage sold —

Gen. Atkinson — yr agent will want them to break up the land on the other side of the river —

Dandy — Our Great Father has to send the money a long way to make

¹⁵ Mr. Tibbits apparently was a minor government employee.

¹⁶ Joseph Moore, J. Brisbois, and Sat. Clark, jr. were designated "Conductors" at the treaty of 1837.

¹⁷ Probably a local resident with militia rank.

our payments — and some of the money has been lost, we do not suspect any of you — But the money has been lost — we understand that some of it had been lost in the water —

Gen. Atkinson — You chose yr own agents and if any of it has been lost — It has been by them — and it will probably be the case until you emigrate and are all paid at the same time —

Dandy — When our agent came to see us last summer he told us to make our corn &c the difficulties would be settled — When our agent came to see us last fall — he promised to have our goods etc there for us this summer —

Gen. Atkinson — I will not permit him to comply with his promise — Come here and you will receive yr goods —

Dandy — We think much of our friends — Mr. Dousman,¹⁸ Clarke & Capt Lou — and wish to have them always with us —

Gen. Atkinson — If you come down at once, I will furnish you all with provisions — to subsist yrselves with on the road — and give you three dollars a-head little & big —

Dandy — At the last payments at the Portage some of the Indians — were absent — and the money for them was left in the hands of Capt Smith¹⁹ — we wish our friend Mr. Tibbits to get it for us —

Council then adjourned & met again in the evening —

Gen. Atkinson — I am here agreeable to yr request to hear what you have to say —

Dandy — When I say any thing if they who repeat it, do not exactly what I say — tis not my faults — When I saw our agent last summer at

¹⁸ Hercules L. Dousman was associated with the American Fur Company and doubtless was well-represented by his partner, Henry Hastings Sibley, at the Treaty of 1837. The Dousman home at Prairie du Chien is one of the historic shrines and showplaces in the Upper Mississippi Valley, as is the Sibley home at Mendota, opposite Fort Snelling.

¹⁹ The identity of this officer is not clear. There are two hundred and ninety-four Smiths recorded in Francis B. Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, From its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903*. This compilation does not include the militia or men masquerading under pseudo-military titles.

Winnebago, he told me to come down to see you and Gov Dodge, and then I should return with plenty of goods & provisions — These were the words of the agent — his son was the interpreter — and there certainly is an untruth somewhere — You know how destitute we are — men and women without blankets — also we have not all got canoes — some will have to come by land — and will want guns to subsist themselves with —

Gen. Atkinson — I have told you twenty times that you shall have nothing until you come down, and it is useless to speak about it — if you have nothing else to speak about — it is useless to talk — so soon as you come down you shall have provisions and goods — not before — I have told the agent he must not issue any to you — and if he did promise he shall not comply with his promise — Blame me, not the agent —

Dandy — We wish to start early in the morning for home —

Whirling Thunder — I hope you will be patient and hear us a little while longer — We wish another interpreter to send our talks to Great Father —

Little Priest — You said this morning you wished us to speak about nothing except what related to the last treaty —

We want another interpreter, our great Father promised we might have who we pleased for our interpreter — We all like our agent Mr. Lowery very much — he is a good man — Our great father promised that we might select two interpreters from among our friends — Mr. Dousman is a good friend to the Winnebagoes — and gives blankets to their young men — we wish an interpreter for him —

Gen. Atkinson — I will send yr talk to yr Great Father —

Little Priest — Great Father promised that he would give us blacksmiths, farmers & medicine when we wished — if sent word to him through our agent — we have one good interpreter, but we want another — to travel about with us — We want Antoine Grignon appointed interpreter —

Gen. Atkinson — Cant promise — will send yr talk to yr Great Father — Dandy, I shall expect you to go back and commence moving with yr people in about three weeks —

Needless to say, after such a firm stand on the part of General Atkinson, the Winnebago began to move over into the ground agreed upon in the

Treaty of 1837. Before two months had expired the bulk of the tribe was located in Iowa leaving only a few stragglers to be rounded up by United States troops. Their sojourn in Iowa was destined to be a short one. Six years later the Winnebago once more signed a treaty whereby they agreed to move into what is now Minnesota far beyond the Falls of St. Anthony. Once more the recalcitrant red men were loathe to move and it was not until 1848 that the colorful exodus finally was consummated.²⁰

²⁰ The following references on the Winnebago will prove valuable to the reader: Walter H. Beall, *The Teggarden Massacre*, *Palimpsest*, 24:82-91, March, 1943.

A. R. Fulton, *The Red Men of Iowa*, 146-162, Des Moines, 1882.

Bruce E. Mahan, *Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier*, 100-119, 140-161, 201-240. SHSI. 1926.

William J. Petersen, "The Winnebago Indians," *The Palimpsest*, 41:325-356, July, 1960.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The State Historical Society of Iowa

The Society has added 187 new members during July, August, and September, 1960. The following were elected Life Members during that period: Mrs. Opha K. Atkinson, Emmetsburg; Arnold J. Boldt, Bettendorf; Miss Olive Brown, Iowa City; Max R. Clark, Dubuque; Arthur F. Draheim, Sr., Clarion; Mrs. Grace K. Harden, Muscatine; James Huiskamp, Jr., Keokuk; Paul E. Johnson, Centerville; William L. Meardon, Iowa City; A. E. Muir, Onawa; Mrs. George H. Rigler, Kenilworth, Ill.; Mrs. O. W. Stevenson, Fayette; Rev. Roger J. Sullivan, Ames; Earl G. Swen, Williamsburg, Va.; M. D. VanOosterhout, Orange City; Charles L. Walling, Oskaloosa; John H. Watts, Grand Junction; W. O. Weaver, Wapello; and Charles H. Young, Muscatine.

SUPERINTENDENT'S CALENDAR

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| July 8 | Meeting with Iowa Civil War Centennial Commission in Des Moines. |
| July 29 | Attended Governor's Day at Clear Lake, Iowa. |
| August 30 | Luncheon with Awards Committee of the American Association for State and Local History. |
| August 31 | Served as Chairman of Local Arrangements for the following functions of the AASLH: |
| | 11:00 a.m. — Dedication of State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building. |
| | 1:30 p.m. — Dedication Luncheon — University Athletic Club. Speakers: Dr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, State Historical Society of Missouri; Dr. Russell Fridley, Director, Minnesota Historical Society. |
| | 3:30 p.m. — Tour of Lucas Home at Iowa City and Hoover Home at West Branch. |
| | 7:00 p.m. — Dedication Dinner — Jefferson Hotel. Speaker: MacKinlay Kantor. |

- September 1 Directed tour of Amana Colonies by the American Association for State and Local History. Morning programs in Old Capitol and afternoon programs in Amana.
- September 2 Five professional programs of American Association for State and Local History in Iowa City.
- September 3 Conducted Mississippi steamboat trip for members of the American Association for State and Local History.
- September 9 Consulted Indian material in Ayer Collection, Newberry Library in Chicago.
- September 23 Addressed opening session of the Iowa Society for the Preservation of Historic Sites at Ames.
- September 25-27 Attended Mississippi River Parkway Convention in Memphis, Tennessee.
- September 28 Research at the Missouri Historical Society in the Jefferson Memorial in St. Louis.
- September 30 Research in Chicago Historical Society.
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Dedication of Centennial Building

August 31, 1960

Fully three hundred attended the dedication of the State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building on Wednesday, August 31, 1960. Over half the states in the Union and two Canadian provinces sent delegates, all of them members of the American Association for State and Local History, which was holding its 20th Annual Meeting in Iowa City to participate in the dedication of the Centennial Building.

William R. Hart, President of the Board of Curators of the State Historical Society, presided over the meeting. Governor Loveless was unable to attend but sent Superintendent Petersen the following message:

Since I can't be present personally, I do want to send my warm regards to those in attendance and to add my congratulations to our own State Historical Society on the happy occasion of your moving into the Centennial Building.

Dedication Program

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Centennial Building

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31, 1960, 11 A.M.

PRESIDING

Curator William R. Hart, President, State Historical Society of Iowa

INVOCATION

Dr. J. Raymond Chadwick, President, Iowa Wesleyan College

GREETINGS

Honorable Herschel C. Loveless, Governor of Iowa

Dr. Harvey H. Davis, Provost, State University of Iowa

Dr. Clifford L. Lord, President, American Association for State and Local History

Dr. S. K. Stevens, President, Association of Historic Sites Administrators

REMARKS

Hon. Scott Swisher, State Representative, Johnson County

Clarence W. Moody, Past President, Iowa Daily Press Association

Dr. Leslie W. Dunlap, Director, University of Iowa Libraries

INTRODUCTIONS

Distinguished Visitors: Dr. William J. Petersen, Superintendent, State Historical Society of Iowa

Curators of the Society: Curator W. Howard Smith

PRESENTATION OF KEYS TO CENTENNIAL BUILDING

Presentation by Burdette Higgins, Architect, Tinsley, Higgins, Lighter and Lyon

Acceptance by Curator Jim H. Nesmith, Chairman, Centennial Building Committee

BENEDICTION

Right Reverend Monsignor C. H. Meinberg, St. Mary's Parish

For the benefit of the visitors, I might say that we citizens of Iowa are deeply proud of our State Historical Society, which is one hundred three years old, this year. We are proud of our Society's outstanding publication and research program, and proud of its front rank among states in the presentation of Iowa's history.

We have long looked forward to the day when the State Historical Society's collection of Iowana — the largest in the country — could be housed in one appropriate building. That day has now arrived, and on behalf of the citizens of Iowa I pay tribute to the Society, its Board and staff, and you, the Director.

Following the presentation of the keys by Architect Burdette Higgins to Curator Jim H. Nesmith, chairman of the building committee, those present entered the Centennial Building and inspected it from sub-basement to its fifth floor — or level. The number of well-wishers was so great that, although 140 reservations had been made for the Dedication luncheon, 210 actually partook of the delicious repast at the University Athletic Club and heard splendid papers by Dr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary Emeritus of the State Historical Society of Missouri, and Russell W. Fridley, Director of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Iowa's Pulitzer Prize winning author, MacKinley Kantor, spoke to 240 at the evening dinner in the Jefferson Hotel. So enthusiastic was the attendance at the Centennial Building dedication that over half a hundred of those attending were unable to secure tickets for either the Centennial luncheon or dinner.

The officers and members of almost a score of county historical societies attended the dedication programs. In addition to the formal dedication already mentioned, two morning sessions had been arranged at which papers centered on "New Directions and Traditional Functions in Our Local Historical Societies" and "The Historical Magazine — Does It Have a Future?" In the afternoon a special tour had been arranged of Plum Grove, the home of Robert Lucas, the first governor of the Territory of Iowa. Busses then took the visitors to West Branch to see the Herbert Hoover birthplace, the newly-erected blacksmith shop, and the new Herbert Hoover library, which was under construction and would be dedicated in 1961.

A reception for MacKinlay Kantor at the Jefferson Hotel, sponsored by Curator Frank C. Allen, preceded the distinguished Iowa author's speech.

Twentieth Annual Meeting

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY

August 31, September 1, 2, 3, 1960

The dedication of the Centennial Building was a great success. It was followed by three days of historical sessions and tours. On Thursday morning programs were held in the Old Stone Capitol on the topics — "Urban Renewal and Historical Preservation" and "Manuscript Collecting in the Twentieth Century: The Battle of the Bulk."

At noon busses took the historians to Homestead where luncheon was served in Zuber's Dugout. Professor Bestor read a paper on "Communal Life in America." Dr. Henry Moershel spoke on "Historical Background of Amana," and Martin Dickel discussed "Communal Life in Amana."

The visitors were then taken through the seven Amana villages, visiting the Homestead Church, the Amana Heim, the Ehrle Winery, the Carl Hahn home and open-hearth oven, the Amana cemetery, meat market, furniture shop and woolen mills. The ladies from out of state attending the convention were entertained by Mrs. Henry Moershel in her home and garden at Homestead, and by Mrs. John Noe, Mrs. Bill Noe, and Mrs. M. A. Bendorf in their homes in Amana. A reception was held in the Ox Yoke Inn Rathskellar, followed by dinner in the Ox Yoke Inn with zither music.

All meetings were held in the Centennial Building on Friday. The programs were designed to be helpful to state and local historical societies. The two held simultaneously on Friday morning were "Training Programs" and "Legislation Supporting the Preservation of Historic Sites." The Annual Business Meeting was held at the University Athletic Club at noon after which the historians returned to the Centennial Building to hear a panel of four discuss "Raising Funds for the Historical Agency." The Annual Dinner of the Association was held in the Mayflower Inn with Dr. Clifford Lord, President of the American Association for State and Local History, delivering a scholarly address on "New Horizons."

The feature program on Saturday morning was a Mississippi River trip on the *Addie May*. Historic sites along the way to Nauvoo were pointed out by Superintendent Petersen — the Old Military Road, the Harlan Home and the Harlan Hotel, Iowa Wesleyan College and its P.E.O. Library. The Old Fort Madison Marker was observed as the bus drew up

to the Sheaffer Pen Company where the distinguished visitors received the latest ball point pens, compliments of the Sheaffer Pen Company. A quick tour was made of historic Nauvoo before boarding the *Addie May*. The group had lunch at the Iowa Hotel in Keokuk. After touring historic Keokuk, most of the group headed back to such points as Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Utah, New York, and points along the way. The bus load of 41 passengers returned to Iowa City whence they departed to their respective homes by auto, train and plane.

IOWA SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF HISTORIC LANDMARKS

On September 23 and 24, 1960, the Iowa Society for the Preservation of Historic Landmarks met at Iowa State University in Ames. The State Historical Society of Iowa and the Iowa Conservation Commission were co-sponsors of the two-day meeting which attracted a battery of excellent speakers. The Superintendent of the Society gave one of the principal addresses.

The historic George Davenport home on Rock Island is being restored under the auspices of the Quad-Cities Home Builder's Association, which holds the lease on the home. Firms in the area are donating time and material.

COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Adams County Historical Society held an "Open House" at its recently restored one-room school located at the edge of Corning on September 18.

The Bremer County Historical Society has purchased for a museum a three-story Waverly Building which had served as one of that town's first hotels.

The Buena Vista County Historical Society held its organizational meeting on September 29.

The Butler County Historical Society is busily engaged in restoring their newly-acquired country school.

The Calhoun County Historical Society sponsored a display on early farm machinery at the Calhoun County Fair.

The Cedar County Historical Society dedicated the Hardman Memorial Marker at their third annual picnic on July 24.

The Dallas County Historical Society dedicated their third historic marker at the Huston cemetery on September 25.

The Guthrie County Historical Society sponsored a display at their historical building on the fairgrounds.

The Kossuth County Historical Society held a county-wide picnic in Ambrose Call State Park in Algona on September 24 to stimulate interest in their newly-organized society.

The Lee County Historical Society assisted the State Historical Society in entertaining the American Association for State and Local History during its visit to Keokuk and Nauvoo. Guests visited the Society's new museum in the public library and were also shown many of the historic homes in Keokuk.

The Madison County Historical Society has been re-activated by consolidation with a newly-organized Winterset civic organization known as the "Committee for the Preservation and Promotion of the Historical Significance of Madison County." Officers elected are: Irvin Martens, president; Dale Callison, secretary; and Mrs. Bernard Morrissey, treasurer.

The Marion County Historical Society held its first meeting on July 13 in their new museum quarters at the new county park and recreation area.

The Mills County Historical Society will begin classifying and cataloguing material for its museum. Members of the Glenwood Women's Club will undertake the project as part of their public service in 1960-1961.

The Osceola County Historical Society will open its museum from 2 to 5 p.m. every Sunday. The museum belongs to the city and is maintained by the Society. Officers are Mrs. Marie Dummett, president; Cecelia Ransom, vice president; and Helen Dumbauld, secretary-treasurer.

The new officers of the Plymouth County Historical Society are: Walter Held, president; Ray Richardson, vice president; Mrs. Jack Tindall, secretary-treasurer.

On June 26 the Washington County Historical Society made a tour of Crawfordsville, Coppock, and Sandyhook areas.

The Wayne County Historical Society has elected the following officers: Miss Amy Robertson, president; Mrs. Lawrence Fry, vice president; Miss Altha Green, secretary; Harry Hibbs, treasurer; and LeRoy Grimes, curator. This society has the largest membership of any county historical society in the state — 1,006.

County historical societies represented at the dedication of the State Historical Society of Iowa Centennial Building were: Butler, Bremer, Calhoun, Cedar, Chickasaw, Dallas, Delaware, Dubuque, Henry, Lee, Linn, Mahaska, Marshall, Mills, and Washington.

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